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EDITORIAL

MUCH CONFUSION EXISTS IN REGARD TO THE MEANING OF MYSTICISM, and equally as much as to its validity and significance for Christian faith and life. To some "Christian mysticism" represents the finest type of Christianity, while to others anything savoring of mysticism falls in the category of harmful and obnoxious emotionalism. Some critics insist that it is subversive of true Christianity. What are we to believe? In his article in this issue on "Christianity and Mysticism," Professor Enss undertakes a keen analysis of the nature of mysticism and its relation to Christianity. With eminent fairness, he first clarifies the concept of mysticism by defining it in the very terms used by the exponents of classic mysticism at its best, such as Dr. Rufus M. Jones. Upon the basis of this definition, he then proceeds to show that mysticism is not only not a part of true Christianity, but is in reality its deadly enemy, for mysticism is a substitute for the revelation of God in Christ. The argument is clear, logical and convincing. For those who hold with Professor Enss that Christianity is essentially determined by the Divine response to human need, that it is God finding man because man cannot find God, mysticism is indeed at the opposite pole from Christian faith. In this second article of his series dealing with the essence of true Christianity, Professor Enss goes one step further in delimiting the area occupied by Christianity. In the first article he distinguished sharply between religion and Christianity; in the second article, he now distinguishes just as sharply between Christianity and mysticism; in the third article, he will point out the radical difference between philosophy and Christianity

DR. GEORGE LEIBBRANDT'S DISCUSSION OF THE MENNONITE EMIGRATION from Russia to North America in 1873-1880, of which the first half is published in this issue of the REVIEW, treats the theme from a very interesting point of view, namely, that of the governments involved. As he portrays the preliminary history of the movement from the official reports of government officials, it becomes clear that the migration was not

merely a private movement of concern to the Mennonites alone, but one which was conditioned by governmental attitudes in its origin and development and was of vital concern to states. In its deeper aspect, as the author suggests, the movement touches issues still more significant than the transient adjustment of a religio-social group to its political environment, for it involves a fundamental struggle between the Christian community and the state or the "world." The REVIEW is fortunate to be able to present this thorough and comprehensive study. The basic and general body of facts relating to the Russian Mennonite migration have become well-known through the substantial work of such scholars as Dr. C. Henry Smith, but studies such as this one by Dr. Leibbrandt open new perspectives on the movement. The study will be completed in the next issue of the REVIEW.

IN THE SECOND INSTALMENT OF JOHN HORSCH'S SERIES ON THE ORIGIN and early history of the Swiss Brethren, we come to the heart of the story with the account of the first beginnings of the movement in Zurich. As the story is told in its simple, bold outlines, without embellishment, it is a powerfully moving story of simple faith and unswerving devotion and fidelity to conviction of the truth. As the account unfolds, the most strangely surprising thing about it all is the transformation of Zwingli, himself the first protagonist of what might be called "Anabaptist" doctrine, but within a short time its bitter and mortal enemy. As the readers of the REVIEW have learned to expect in the work of John Horsch, the account is thoroughly documented and based upon primary sources of unimpeachable authority.

THE CONCLUDING INSTALMENT OF A. C. KOLB'S STUDY OF JOHN FRETZ Funk rounds out the life and work of this striking and influential personality in American Mennonite history. In spite of the tragedy which clouds the conclusion of this notable career, the power of the life and its contribution to American Mennonitism stands out in clear relief. The REVIEW hopes to publish a number of important documents and letters of J. F. Funk dealing with important movements in recent Mennonite history in an early issue.

THE FINAL CONTRIBUTION IN THIS ISSUE IS THE ANNUAL STATISTICAL study of attendance at Mennonite schools and colleges by Dr. Hertzler. This study has become increasingly valuable as the years pass. This year, as was to be expected, the attendance statistics reveal the effect of the depression.

OF THE CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE, PROFESSOR ENSS, AND PROFESSOR Hertzler, Professors of Philosophy and Education, respectively, at Goshen College, and John Horsch, author and historian of Scottdale, Pennsylvania, are well-known to readers of the REVIEW. A. C. Kolb of Kitchener, Ontario, was introduced in our last issue, as a life-long friend and long co-worker of John Fretz Funk. Dr. George Leibbrandt, the author of the study on the Mennonite emigration from Russia, is himself a native of South Russia, a representative of the German Lutheran colonies. Finding himself unable to return to Russia as a Lutheran pastor, he has entered the field of economic research, and is now in America as a Traveling Research Fellow on the Rockefeller Foundation.

CHRISTIANITY AND MYSTICISM

GUSTAV H. ENSS

One of the unfortunate things which has taken place in theological thinking since Schleiermacher is the identification of mystical experience with Christian experience. Nothing could have been more confusing than this. Mysticism itself presents an extremely difficult problem because of its endless variations, and to have Christian experience entangled with it creates an impossible situation. To disentangle ourselves from the network of mysticism is one of the most pressing duties of Christian theology to-day. Too much harm has already been done in the ranks of the Christian Church since mysticism began mystifying Christian theological thinking. Mysticism has always been a disturbing factor in the Church but it has seldom received such official recognition in theology as is the case to-day. It has become absolutely necessary, therefore, to point out the difference between mysticism and true Christian experience.

In Germany the Barthian movement has recently directed Christian thinking toward such discrimination, and though we cannot fully accept the Barthian point of view with regard to Christian experience, we must admit that Barth and Brunner have pointed out an issue of primary importance, which no doubt will and ought to engage theological thinking in days to come. Some very intensive work will have to be done in order to liberate Christian theology from the entanglements of mysticism, and still more intensive work will have to be done to regain a clear understanding of true Christian experience. Here we can only call attention to the seriousness of the present situation and point out some of the major characteristics of mysticism in contradistinction to Christian faith and experience.

With this purpose in mind we turn to a recent interpretation of mysticism given by a well recognized scholar in this field, Professor Dr. Rufus M. Jones. He is a mystic himself and fully conscious of his own position. Therefore his utterances cannot be mistaken as willful misinterpretations of mysticism. His absolute frankness and the beauty of his style prevent any misunderstanding. We have all reason to thank Dr. Jones for his penetrating study and masterful presentation of the case of mysticism. The book and the section of the book we are referring to is the chapter

on "Mystical Experience" in *Pathways to the Reality of God,* published by the Macmillan Company.

After a critical analysis of the situation with regard to the confusion of ideas concerning mysticism, Dr. Jones makes the following statement: "There is good historical ground for clarifying the word mysticism and setting it apart to mean a *direct* way of vital intercourse and correspondence between man and God".[1] This statement may serve as a tentative definition which will help us to mark the major characteristics of mysticism. First of all we may notice that the statement unquestionably implies the existence and personality of God; also a definite vital relationship between God and man. Insofar Christianity and mysticism seem to be in perfect agreement. But this agreement is completely shattered as soon as we direct our attention to that one little word which has received the emphasis in the quotation—"direct". This little word which so fitly characterizes mysticism fixes a great chasm between mysticism and Christianity. The full meaning of it in this particular setting can hardly be grasped at the first reading. It requires some careful thinking to understand its real significance. But when finally it dawns upon us and we understand its meaning then we shall see that this little word is like a poisoned arrow aimed at the very heart of the Christian gospel. Is not the Christian gospel the proclamation that there is no direct way to God? Does it not teach us that all the so-called "direct ways" are ways to destruction? Does it not condemn all the attempts of men to appear before God in their own righteousness? The Christian gospel is the proclamation of that very thing to which mysticism objects with all its might, namely, that God, Himself, has provided a way which is the way of the cross, and that no one can come to the Father except through Christ the mediator between God and man. The reason for such meditation, Christianity teaches, is man's sinfulness, his moral and spiritual bankruptcy.

But here again mysticism declares its absolute disagreement with Christianity. Mysticism does not accept the Christian teaching concerning human depravity. It justifies man in the presence of God, insisting that human nature is not corrupted by sin and that man is essentially one with God. Let me quote another passage from Dr. Jones' book. "If," he says, "the mystic is a safe guide, God is not an 'Absolute Other'. There is something in us related to Him. There is a way through the soul of man to genuine fellowship and friendship with Him, and there is a possibil-

[1] Page 23. Italics not in the original.

ity of a steadily growing acquaintance with His character. *We are no more bankrupt in our capacity for finding God than in our capacity for finding harmony, or beauty, or moral goodness, or truth".*[2] No acknowledgment of man's depravity can be traced in this statement. On the contrary a direct contradiction is made without the slightest hesitation. According to mysticism man is not bankrupt. There is nothing the matter with him, he is on his way to glory. He needs no saviour, particularly no mediator between him and God. Mysticism therefore completely eliminates Christ and on this account must be considered as the arch-enemy of Christianity.

We might further notice here that the "direct" way of the first statement in the second quotation is more definitely described as "the way through the soul of man". This is significant. Mysticism thinks of the soul of man as of a beautiful harp which is able to make its own music; Christianity on the other hand presents the human soul as a broken instrument with broken strings which is found by the Master in the dust. He picks it up, repairs it again, strings it anew and then with His matchless touch draws from its strings the most beautiful melodies. What in Christianity is the object of salvation, in mysticism is seen as the medium of direct fellowship with God. The wretched condemned soul of the sinner under the wrath of God as pictured in the gospel, in mysticism appears as the righteous ambassador able to stand in Divine presence. Whichever presentation may be right or wrong, the fact remains that Christianity and mysticism are as far removed from each other as the east is from the west. They are opposite poles. The mystic's "inner experience" is a psychic self-exertion, the manifestation of the soul's own innate powers; in Christian experience the soul is acted upon by supernatural powers.

This fundamental difference in the two types is very forcefully brought out in another statement in Dr. Jones' book where he says: "What we find in the mystic, therefore, is not a miraculous figure, *nor the instrument of supernatural happening,* but rather an intensified human organ for the affirmation of the reality of God and for the richer interpretation of His character. He belongs primarily, not in the class of the logician, the scientist or the philosopher, but rather in the class with those geniuses who have been the revealers of music and beauty and the wider ranges of the other intrinsic values of life."[3] Nothing supernatural takes

[2] Page 49. Italics not in the original.

[3] Page 45. Italics not in the original.

place in mystic experience. Man is not the instrument of supernatural happening. It is all natural, merely an intensified activity of the human organ. We are glad for the information and believe it is a true interpretation of mysticism, but it is true also that we have here another mark of fundamental difference between Christianity and mysticism. In Christianity we are forced to reckon with supernatural interference from beginning to end. A theologian who hesitates to confess his faith in the Supernatural is not fit for the work of Christian theology. In Christianity we have a supernatural Christ, a supernatural work of grace in the hearts of the believers, and a supernatural life as the result of regeneration. The mystic claims to accomplish everything without supernatural interference, but the Christian does not even try to begin without it. He believes in the futility of such attempts. Christian experience, therefore, is of an entirely different nature from that of mysticism; the Christian lives in an altogether different atmosphere.

Another mark of difference must be noticed here. The mystic is seen as a "genius" of high merit, the Christian is a sinner saved by grace. The mystic is an exceptional man among his fellowmen, the Christian is a new man begotten of God. Mysticism is for the strong of heart and mind, Christianity is for the weak and the strong who realize their weakness; mysticism excludes the masses, Christianity invites all that labor and are heavy laden; mysticism trusts in man, Christianity relies upon God; in mysticism man interprets God, in Christianity God judges man. The absolutely anti-Christian character of mysticism is obvious.

Now let me point out to the reader the perfectly subjective nature of mysticism as again brought out by Dr. Jones himself. "My real claim," he says, "is this, that when the powers of the mind are fused and unified, over-brimmed and revitalized by intense mystical concentration and unification, *the whole interior self becomes an immensely heightened organ of spiritual apprehension in correspondence with the real world to which it belongs.*"[4] Thus is produced the mystical inner experience. It is purely subjective. The contact with spiritual realities is a matter of man's own achievement. Whether this is fact or imagination, who can judge? Is it any wonder that modern theology which has followed in the footsteps of Schleiermacher's mysticism, is gradually moving toward religious humanism, and further into religious skepticism? The naturalistic tendency in mysticism is evident. This, followed out to its logical consequences, must finally lead to skepticism. It

[4] Page 41.

must become increasingly evident to every careful reader that mysticism's so-called reality is simply the reality of the self. Whatever more mysticism claims is, to say it mildly, of a very questionable nature.

To make it clear once more, may we again emphasize the fundamental difference between mystical and Christian experience. The mystic, in his intense concentration, usually finds what he seeks, as, for example, the philosophical mystic, Gautama, in his experience of enlightenment, or Plotinus in his visions; while in Christian experience this is not the case. In his initial experience, the Christian does not find God, but God finds him. To express it more vividly, he is "spotted" by God like Paul on the road to Damascus. The mystic's experience is an achievement, the Christian's is divine grace. In His grace, God, instead of executing judgment, offers to the sinner forgiveness in the name of Christ under the condition of repentance. When the divine spot-light is turned on the sinner, it is not the delightful experience of finding reality. The sinner himself is made manifest in the presence of a holy God. This is a bitter experience sought by no man. It turns into joy only when the sinner repents, and clinging to the cross of Christ, receives forgiveness of his sins. Then, indeed, he knows that God is a merciful God, a God of love. From now on the sinner saved by grace, may have fellowship and communion with God through Christ his Redeemer. This, however, is not mysticism, but the unique Christian experience.

It is true however, that even Christians often deceive themselves and lose themselves in mystic experience, for which Christ is not responsible. Such abnormalities in Christian life must always be carefully guarded against. The harm done by mysticism in Christianity is inestimable. Such things as "speaking in tongues," too often accompanied by selfish ambition, have brought much confusion into the ranks of Christian believers. There are true manifestations of God's power in the gift of tongues, but there are also many imitations, which bear the stamp of mysticism. The apostle Paul earnestly warned against them. Or think of the self-appointed prophets, who instead of carefully studying the Word of God, rely upon their own mystical intuitions and keep stirring up their fellow-Christians with exciting cries about the coming of the Lord. This author is a firm believer in the pre-millennial coming of Christ. For him the sure word of prophecy is a precious possession of the Church of Christ, but the unqualified prophets with their mystic intuitions have no part in the prophetic ministry. Or take again the mystically inclined preacher, who uses art rather than truth to move his hearers. His methods are the methods of

mysticism, not of the Gospel, and the results are correspondingly mystifying. This is true of many liberal as well as of orthodox preachers. Aesthetic emotions are a precious type of experience which we would not miss in our lives. They are a real tonic for personality and should not be neglected. But aesthetic feelings do not constitute Christian experience nor do they form the background for Christian experience. They have their own cause and purpose and specific results, which may or may not serve the cause of the gospel. Aesthetic emotions may be used to produce a sympathetic mood for the reception of the gospel, but this receptive mood is not to be considered here as an end in itself but as an exceptional opportunity for gospel preaching. For *Christian experience itself is always a direct result of the redemptive work of Christ, and in His creative activity in the hearts of men God always takes the initiative.*

In the light of the Gospel, therefore, mysticism as a direct way must appear as rebellious self-assertion of man, who in his self-deceit despises the cross and seeks his own way, which is not *the* way, but *a* way; who in self-righteousness defies the holiness of God and denies his own sinfulness. This is the sin which separates man from God, instead of establishing fellowship with Him. Wherever the gospel is preached mysticism must go, the two can not live together. It is either mysticism or Christ. If mysticism provides a direct way to God, Christ need not have come. If mysticism is true, the gospel is false. If the mystic achieves his end, then man is not fallen, grace is not needed, and the plan of redemption is out of place.

It is evident therefore, that this type of "inner experience" has no contribution whatever to make to Christian theology. It was Schleiermacher, the father of modern theology, who first fell into the error of building "theology" upon the basis of such "inner experience." It is still the method of many of the modern theologians. Professor Leuba's protest against such a procedure was quite in order and bears repetition: "I trust," he says, "it has become clear that the hope to lift a theology based on inner experience out of the sphere of science is preposterous: since whatever appears in consciousness is material for psychology. . . . A theology that should remain within the domain accessible to science would be limited to a mere description of man's religious consciousness and would be deprived of the right to any opinion on the objective reality of its objects and on the universal validity of its propositions."[5] In our endorsement of this statement we wish

[5] *A Psychological Study of Religion*, p. 242.

to add that even true Christian experience as we have spoken of it in these pages, cannot furnish a sufficient basis for Christian theology, however valuable its contribution otherwise may be. Christian experience is not the producer of Christian truth, it simply corroborates the truth of the Gospel.

But what shall we say about the many Christian men and women who have been repeatedly classified as mystics? And what shall we do with the many books that have been written on "Christian mysticism?" Are not St. Paul and Plotinus both mystics? Many have said so, but that does not decide the matter in question. Many outstanding true Christians have been called mystics, who have never in any way endorsed mysticism. Whoever insists on calling the apostle Paul a mystic will have to explain to us what he means by mysticism. In a recent book on philosophy, St. Paul is classified with Mahatma Gandhi as representing the same type of mysticism. What shall we say? Gandhi is indeed an excellent example of the mystic way, but to put Paul by his side shows indeed very poor judgment. Perhaps it is due to the general confusion concerning mysticism. The most astonishing ideas can be found in literature about mysticism. There are writers who insist on calling any emotional type of Christianity mysticism, but such an uncritical procedure cannot be taken seriously. True mystics will never accept such a loose use of the term. Emotional men may be Christians or they may be mystics, but being emotional does not make a Christian nor a mystic. Others again hold to the theory that all intuitionists are mystics, and since the Christian doctrine of inspiration may be designated as a type of intuition, the conclusion is drawn that Christianity is mysticism. The fallacy is obvious. Any conclusion may be drawn from an invalid major premise. Nor can incidental minor characteristics be used as a basis for classification. The major test of mysticism lies in its method and claim of finding reality, as Dr. Jones has shown very clearly. It is impossible to make opposite poles meet. Christianity and mysticism cannot be reconciled.

It dare not be denied however that men like Augustine and St. Francis were profoundly influenced by mysticism, also that pietists of the Middle Ages and also of later periods have confused mysticism with Christianity. But that does not change the truth of the gospel. The fact is, as said before, that we ourselves are suffering from the disease of mysticism, and perhaps more than ever before. It is for this very reason that we wish to enter a solemn protest against the use of the term "Christian mysticism." It is a contradiction of terms. We might just as well say the southern northpole, or the black bright night. The term "Christian mysti-

cism" has never served the cause of truth; on the contrary it has caused endless confusion. In order to avoid this confusion and to make it possible once more to testify to the truth of the Christian experience in unmistakable terms, we propose to eliminate it completely. A reconsideration and a reevaluation of the whole matter of mysticism in its relation to Christianity is absolutely necessary in order to clear Christian theology of such mystical implications. Still more important is a new intensive study of the true nature of Christian experience. This is the other side of the same problem. Modern psychology of religion has proved entirely inadequate to the task, it has not only failed to make good its promises but it has more and more moved away from the center of the problem. Rudolph Uren's critical exposition of the methods and results of representative investigators of the psychological phenomena of religion, in his book *Recent Religious Psychology,* has brought this out very forcefully. In his chapter on "Results" he says: "All that the psychology of religion can justly claim at present is that it has formulated loose generalizations which are necessarily tentative and provisional. Strictly speaking, results have not been established so much as problems have been raised and questions underlined. Many of the so-called explanations of the psychology of religion prove to be but re-statements of the mystery in other terms."[6] If this is true with regard to religion in general, it is much more true with regard to Christian experience. It has been misunderstood entirely. Recent psychologism has not grasped the difference between the religions of the world and true Christian faith. It has not been able to discern the creative activity of the Holy Spirit in the lives of men, and therefore it has not even touched the vital facts of Christian experience. It has been the general procedure of the psychology of religion to consider religious, mystical and Christian experience as identical phenomena and to dispose of them summarily by way of a naturalistic interpretation. This must not be suffered any longer. We must approach the matter of Christian experience in a new constructive way in harmony with the real facts of experience. Then we shall see that mysticism with all its intense concentrations and pious self-exertions avails nothing. At its best it is only an anticipation of what may become a real experience if the sinner accepts the mediation of Christ and follows the way of the cross.

[6] Rudolph Uren's, *Recent Religious Psychology.*

THE EMIGRATION OF THE GERMAN MENNONITES FROM RUSSIA TO THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA IN 1873-1880: I

Dr. Georg Leibbrandt, Washington, D. C.

Preface

This article, while not an exhaustive study of the subject, is submitted as a contribution to the literature on the emigration from Russia to America. Attention was given to the existing literature on the history of the Mennonites, particularly the excellent work of C. Henry Smith[1] which gives the viewpoint of the Mennonites. In the present study the emphasis is laid more particularly on that aspect of the emigration movement which is revealed in the official government documents, in Russia as well as in America. The governments concerned, as well as public opinion in the respective countries, took cognizance of the problem, for in its fundamental causes and consequences it was not merely a more or less personal and private matter of the Mennonites, but touched the foundations of the new system on which Russia was to be reorganized at that time. When seen from the point of view of the contemporary generation, it is clearly a part of internal Russian history and reveals in many ways the working machinery of the Russian government. In the last analysis, however, the Mennonite emigration movement is nothing else than the eternal struggle which has been going on since the early times of Christianity, between the Christian community and the government, between the strong religious conviction and the idea of a powerful state. On the other hand, the story of the movement portrays the attitude of the American government, its interest in the settlement of the land, but at the same time its caution in regard to this matter for political reasons. Therefore it contributes to the history of the colonization in North America.

The sources used consist of unpublished official documents of the governments of the United States and Canada. These include the pertinent correspondence between the Department of State in Washington and the United States Ambassador at St. Petersburg. The abundant Canadian materials show how differently the Ottawa and London authorities each treated this matter as they disagreed in their fundamental views concerning it. In the archives of the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, manu-

[1] C. Henry Smith: *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites. An episode in the settling of the last frontier,* 1874-1884. Berne, Indiana, 1927.

script materials concerning the railroad companies and the activities of the American Mennonites were available for use. Furthermore, the Congressional Records of the United States and the Sessional Papers of Canada were consulted. A survey of Russian newspapers throws light on the public opinion of that country.[2]

From the time of their settlement in Russia at the end of the eighteenth century, the German Mennonites enjoyed extensive privileges, having been invited by the Russian government like other German colonists to cultivate the soil in the vast uninhabited areas of the southern parts of the Russian Empire newly taken away from Turkey by the Kutschuk Kainardschi peace treaty in 1774. The corner stone of the Russian colonization policy was the Manifest of Catherine the Great of July 22, 1763, on which all future colonization laws were based and which became the foundation for the creation of the German settlements in the country of the Czar. This manifest laid down principles for the religious, social and administrative life in the colonies which were to be founded.

By the terms of this Edict, the "foreign settlers"—*irostrannye poselenzy,* as they were called in all Russian laws—were to have very extensive rights and privileges. The most important of these were: religious freedom, exemption from military service, autonomous local administration, and exemption from taxation for a period of thirty years for farmers and assistance in their first settlement. In accordance with these far-reaching privileges the German colonies developed in a way which preserved their national and religious qualities practically without alteration and which in some aspects might serve as a good example for twentieth century minority laws. They enjoyed complete local autonomy in every respect since they controlled the administration of the village and district authorities and elected their *Schulz* and *Oberschulz,* the officers who were entrusted with administrative and judicial as well as educational powers. From the government's side there was only the *"Fuersorge Komité* for foreign settlers" in Odessa, the

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[2] The above mentioned United States documents are in the Archive section of the Department of State in Washington, D. C., *Despatches, Russia,* vol. 24 ff. *Instructions,* vol. 15. The documents of the Canadian government are copied from appendices of a manuscript thesis of Mr. Willows at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, the President of which was generous enough to give me permission to use them. The archives of the Mennonite Historical Library in Goshen, Indiana, an excellent collection, has in addition to the large number of manuscript materials and very rare books, a thesis of Jacob Sudermann on the subject, who with great care gathered material on Russian Mennonite immigration from all the contemporary Mennonite periodicals.

head of which was responsible only to the Minister at St. Petersburg and through him to the Czar. This *Committee* had a few local branches in the colonies known as its "contors". But these representatives seldom if ever interfered with the local affairs of the closed settlements and were very carefully chosen by the *Committee.* The Presidents of the *Fuersorge Komité* kept close contact with the colonies, consulting them and fulfilling their wishes as much as possible. They were usually men of high qualities and were often called "fathers of colonists" by the settlers themselves. They took great interest in the furtherance of the German colonies. One of them even ordered the village administrations to write the history of their foundation and development, and he himself wrote a detailed outline for that purpose.[3]

It is easy to understand that the German colonies formed a sort of state within the borders of the Russian Empire. They preserved very strongly and consciously their national characteristics, no other national (Russian) influence being admitted. They spoke their own language everywhere, in administration as well as in school. They had their own educational system and their closed religious communities, which supervised every member according to their own regulations. The economic and cultural development of the German colonies was much in advance of that of their Russian neighbors. The social structure was in many aspects different from that of the native population. Altogether the colonies lived their own life with a strong consciousness of their religious and national cultural and economic order.

It is necessary to point out these facts in order to understand why the change in the internal policy of Russia met with such a strong opposition by the German colonists. The new reforms presumed the abolition of the privileges to which different groups, the foreign settlers as well as other elements of the Russian population, were entitled. The cultural and social life of the colonies was struck by the russianization policy of the government, and its very existence threatened. With the Russian language introduced in administration and school, the heart of the colonies' "national" life was in danger. The abolition of the *Fuersorge Komité* and of autonomous local administration of the colonies broke down from political barriers which separated these exclusive colonies from Russian life. Administration, jurisdiction, school system—in a word

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[3] See Leibbrandt, Georg: *Die deutschen Kolonien in Cherson und Bessarabien, Berichte der Gemeindeaemter ueber Entstehung und Entwicklung der lutherischen Kolonien in der ersten Haelfte des* 19. *jahrhunderts.* Stuttgart, 1926.

all that was autonomous to this time, was placed under government control.

The most effective innovation, however, was the introduction of compulsory military service in 1871, which (in the opinion of the colonists) was not only a violation of the Czar's promise of exemption from military service, but was also in contradiction with the religious faith of large groups of the German colonists. Of these groups the chief was the Mennonites, to whom the refusal of military service was a primary matter of their religion.

In this connection it may be said that the abolition of the privileges of the German colonists, granted a hundred years before to the foreign settlers, is usually regarded as a violation of the law. However, after the colonists were reduced to the level of state peasants and lost their character as a "state within a state", it was logically in the spirit of the law to extend all new legal duties to all citizens, regardless of their previous colonial status.[4]

When the new military law became known in the Mennonite colonies it caused great anxiety. They decided to send a delegation to the government in St. Petersburg to ask for a renewal of their exemption from military service. In the spring of 1871 the delegation arrived at St. Petersburg. Through the assistance of the President of the *Fuersorge Komité* they obtained an audience with the President of the Imperial Council, who expressed his dissatisfaction that the Mennonites, although having been for generations in Russia, did not know the language of their country. The delegation was also granted an interview with the President of the Special Military Commission. The high officials received the delegates in a friendly manner, but could not give them any assurance of their exemption from military service as this would not be fair to the other Russian citizens. They suggested, however, that the Mennonites might be given the privilege of some substitute for military service such as sanitary or hospital service, and promised that their religious scruples would be taken into consideration. As the delegates answered to this in the negative and refused to accept any noncombatant service in connection with the military department, they were told that in that case the only solution would be emigration to another country.

The delegates returned to the colonies very disappointed with the results of their mission. As the Mennonites thought a personal audience with the Czar would certainly have more success, they sent in January, 1872, another delegation to Jalta in the Crimea

[4] See: Ehrt, Adolf: *Das Mennonitentum in Russland,* Berlin, 1932, p. 66.

where the Czar regularly repaired for some time in the winter. Having been received by the Crown Prince and not getting any encouragement from him, they returned to their homes with no positive result.

After they had tried their best and did not see any sign of relief from military service, the conservative Mennonite leaders felt that the only way out would be to quit the soil where they had established their homes, and emigrate to a foreign land. They therefore began their search for a place where they could settle. Almost every part of the world was taken into consideration and their ignorance of all parts was alike. How much, or better how little, they generally knew of America except as of "a country for adventurers and convicts", is shown in a poem written by a Mennonite on the occasion of the emigration.

Doch ober wo ist Amerika?
Ich han schon ofter hora saa,
Es is dort dribbe ungefahr
Bei vierzig Meil vom grosse Meer.
Die Leene Meent, sie wees devon,
"Es is net weit von Oregon."
Die Marie saat: "Ich denk beinah
Es ist in Pennsylvania."
Jetzt kommt derzu die alte Lis'
Sie lacht und meent "Es is net so,
Es is in alt Newmexiko."
Der Michel hot das nett gelitt
Dass sich die Weiber hen gestritt,
Ich wees es fescht, ich kann eich saa'
S'isch dribbe in America.

Should emigration to America be seriously considered, it was necessary to have some information about it. The man who was responsible for obtaining such necessary information and who from the very beginning was active in promoting the emigration to that country was Cornelius Jansen, at that time Prussian Consul at Berdiansk, a grain port on the Black Sea. Being himself a Mennonite of Prussian origin he took an important part in the life and well-being of his co-religionists. When the question of compulsory military service arose, he at once advocated emigration to America as the only way out of the dilemma. In his position as a foreign consul he had a larger view and could better understand the significance of the new laws in Russia and the seriousness of the situation in which the Mennonites found themselves. Through

literature he made his acquaintance with the American brethren. Beginning in 1871, through a long correspondence with John F. Funk in Elkhart, Indiana, the editor of the *Herald of Truth,* he was gathering the necessary information on the question of emigration, such as, the available land for settlement, religious freedom, and military service. With the help of P. Wiebe of Missouri, he also brought the Russian Mennonites in contact with the leaders of their American brethren. As a result, considerable exchange of letters took place, the American Mennonites giving to their co-religionists every possible bit of information asked for about the conditions in their free country. To make this information accessible to larger groups, Cornelius Jansen printed a collection of these letters in 1872[5] with the purpose, as he states in his introduction, of encouraging his brethren to get acquainted with their co-religionists in America in order to learn the conditions there. There is a reason to believe, he thinks, that they would find a home in that country where they could live according to their faith in pleasant unity.

At the same time Cornelius Jansen took up this question with the British authorities asking them about conditions in Canada in connection with possible Mennonite emigration thither.[6]

With this reliable information, the Mennonites, not waiting for the final decision of the Czarist Government, decided to take up the question directly with the governments concerned. On January 3, 1872, Leonhard Sudermann of Berdiansk, one of the outstanding leaders of the Mennonites, presented a petition to the British Consul at Berdiansk, Mr. Schrab. Since this document is the basis for the deliberations which later took place between the official authorities and the Mennonites on the one hand, and the various Canadian and British departments on the other, it may well be cited here in almost its full text:[7]

"You are aware that by the introduction of the new law of 4 (16) June, 1871, the so-called Mennonites residing in about a hundred villages, also in various estates and localities round about as well as we who are established in this town, are to be deprived of the right of conscientiously abstaining from the use of arms, which has hitherto

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[5] *Sammlung von Notizen ueber America,* Danzig, 1872.

[6] The letter of Cornelius Jansen to the English Colonial Secretary, mentioned by C. H. Smith, *op. cit.,* p. 49, was not among the Canadian and British documents available to me. Neither was the answer of the Colonial Secretary to the colonists to be found therein.

[7] The petition was transmitted to the Ambassador in St. Petersburg and then to the Foreign Office in London.

been enjoyed, and are to be employed in military services for the army. But all who will not or can not submit to these arrangements are allowed to emigrate freely within ten years. Therefore, unless His Majesty the Emperor alters this, we shall soon have to consider the important question of life for us and our children and seek and secure in the best possible way a new home. In making the choice America is of importance to us, and the inclination may be partly for Canada and partly for the United States. We therefore apply to you, Honorable Sir, with the respectful request, that you will kindly obtain information for us on the following questions:

1. Might our community, which like the Society of Friends (Quakers) decidedly refuses on principles found in the Word of God to take part directly or indirectly in military service, obtain from Her Majesty the Queen and the government of Canada a special legal position, like that of the Society of Friends, that is, entire exemption from all military service in reach of the law of Defense? We are not unaware that under the Government of Her Majesty the Queen, no one can be forced to serve as a soldier, nevertheless this special concession, the subject of this request, is of the greatest importance to us;

2. Whether the emigrants to Canada might hope for a grant of land there or for the cheap purchase of the same, also in case of necessity for an advance from the Government? For, although we are now here for the most part in good circumstances for our position, yet a general emigration must occasion a considerable average loss, especially as the land is looked upon as crown property, and thus the practical and often expensive dwelling houses become almost of no value, and our present fraternal position requires that the poor also should be enabled to emigrate;

3. Whether both for special requests and also for the arrangements of regulations, a deputation would be advisable to the Government of Her Majesty the Queen in London and also to Canada and what kind of credentials would be necessary for this purpose.

4. We, the undersigned, some of whom are personally known to you, Honorable Sir, hope that you, who know our circumstances and also the economic services of the Mennonites in this country, will interest yourself for us in our present oppressed position and recommend us to the government of Her Majesty."

Ten days later a similar petition to the one quoted above was sent in by the Molotschna settlements through F. Lorenz.[8] It also states, that although the present request was signed by very few of their communities, one may reckon with certainty, that on a favorable answer to the question many more will join in the matter with interest, if the petition to the Russian Government, sent in a year ago, should not have the desired result. They had received a

8 Petition of January 13, 1872, transmitted through Consul Schrab to the Foreign Office in London.

pamphlet in the German language on Minnesota with good information about that State, and ask for a similar one about Canada.

Consul Schrab transmitted the petitions of the Mennonites to Lord Granville (Foreign Secretary 1870-74) together with a despatch on the matter.[9] In the latter he relates the history of the Russian Mennonites, their emigration from Prussia into Russia, the privileges they had enjoyed before the introduction of the new military law in 1871, and the activities of the deputations which they had sent to St. Petersburg. It seemed to him very probable, if they received the necessary information they required and they regarded it as favorable, that during 1873 two to three thousand Mennonite families would quit the country for Canada and that they speedily would be followed by thousands of others. The departure of the Mennonites would be rapidly followed by that of Germans of other denominations who were watching the course pursued by the Mennonites. "The departure of the Germans will undoubtedly be a serious loss to Russia for they are not only much greater proficients in agriculture than the native population and consequently produce heavier crops and finer qualities, but they are very hardworking and therefore in proportion to each man they bring a much larger quantity of land under cultivation and thus increase the produce of the country. They employ large numbers as farm laborers and their villages are patterns of cleanliness and good order." After his seven years' residence in Russia, having acquired a good knowledge of them and knowing many of their Elders personally, he, as he said, could state without hesitation, that these Germans would prove a valuable acquisition to any country they might select as their future home. If they found difficulty in proceeding to Canada, they would turn to the United States, to which country their attention had already been directed.

The despatch had been transmitted by the Foreign Office to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and had been referred to the respective Canadian authorities. The reply from them was made the subject of a report of the Committee of the Privy Council approved by the Governor General.[10] According to the report of the Minister of Militia and Defense the order in Council states that "any person bearing a certificate from the Society of Mennonites, should be exempt from military service, when balloted in time of peace or war, upon such conditions and such regulations as the Governor in Council may from time to time prescribe." As

[9] Despatch to Lord Granville of February 3, 1872.

[10] Order in Council. P. C. 827. B. April 26, 1872.

the Minister of Agriculture proposed, a free grant of 160 acres of best land in the possession of the Dominion in the Province of Manitoba or in other part of the northwestern territory would be made to any person among them over the age of 21 years during the years 1872 and 1873. As far as the question of granting aid in their establishment was concerned, they should be informed that it was not the policy of the Dominion Government to grant aid to any settlers in Canada. They should, however, be invited to send at the expense of the Department of Agriculture one or two persons in order to see the country. This reply was in its contents communicated to the Mennonites through the British Consul at Berdiansk.

While the Canadian and British authorities were considering the petition of the Mennonites, a special Canadian Immigration Agent, W. Hespeler, from Winnipeg, who was working in his native country, South Germany, trying to induce Germans to emigrate to Canada, learned from a Russian, Count Menchikoff, about the proposed Mennonite emigration to America. He thereupon immediately communicated the news to the Canadian immigration authorities. The Department of the Interior, being very much interested in getting settlers for the large western territories, and knowing the attitude of the Privy Council as mentioned above, instructed Hespeler to get in touch with the Mennonites and if necessary to proceed to Russia. The Governor General[11] requested the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and through him the Foreign Office, to afford Hespeler special facilities. Hespeler, although he complained that his work in Germany which had just begun must be left uncompleted and would therefore suffer, accepted the order to go to Russia, as he thought that any mission to Russia would be very successful,[12] for they, unlike the people in Germany, he wrote, had no prejudices in favor of the United States, as they did not emigrate in former years and therefore had no friends or relatives in the United States who could cause them to come there, for "challenges from friends have the greatest weight to draw people to one or the other country." The future showed, however, that the premises of the immigration agent were not quite right and that the Mennonites found in the United States in their co-religionists, friends already settled there. But his observation on the reasons for preferring one country to the other is true for the history of all immigration in general, for whatever the reasons for the

11 In his despatch No. 50 of March 4, 1872.
12 In his letter from Strassburg, June 27, 1872.

choice of one or another particular country might be, the most effective forces are usually the letters from friends and relatives which circulate from one house to the other in the home village and induce people to go where their neighbors and friends have settled. Every study of emigration from whatever country, whether Germany, Greece or Poland, will show that once the mass movement starts, the flood continues for a long time in the same direction for no other important reason than that of the binding forces of relationship and friendship.

Hespeler left for Russia via Vienna, where he encountered the first difficulties from his own authorities. He went to the British Embassy and represented himself as a Canadian Immigration Agent, and asked for a passport for Russia. However his identity papers were regarded as insufficient and therefore the Embassy enquired first at the Foreign Office in London.[13] This of course took time and interfered with the speed with which Hespeler needed to go to Russia. A week later he reported to the Canadian Minister of Agriculture, J. H. Pope, that he was still in Vienna waiting for his passport, that the Embassy had treated him with great indifference and that the Ambassador could only be reached through his ignorant subordinates. "My private opinion is," he wrote, "the sooner we are an independent Canada the better!"[14] That was a very strong statement from a Canadian citizen in his capacity as a semi-official representative of the Government of the Dominion!

In a few days Hespeler received his passport however, and arrived at Berdiansk July 25, 1872. The report on his activities in Russia[15] casts valuable light on the emigration from Russia in comparison with other European countries and illuminates also the internal policy of the absolutistic Russian Government. On his way to Russia Hespeler sent a telegram to the British Consul at Berdiansk announcing his arrival and the object of his mission, signing it as "Agent for the Canadian Government."

As he was directed by the Minister of Agriculture in Ottawa, he paid the first visit to the British Consul. Great was his surprise, when intsead of finding, as he expected, instructions from the Foreign Office in the form of a support of his mission, he was received with the question whether he was in possession of instructions

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[13] Letter from the British Embassy, Vienna, July 7, 1872.

[14] Letter from Vienna, July 15, 1872.

[15] Report to Hon. J. H. Pope, Minister of Agriculture, Ottawa, dated Strassburg, August 28, 1872.

from Lord Granville. To his negative answer, Schrab replied that he had to hold himself aloof from Hespeler, as any communication with him could bring the consulate into a very difficult position, for which he could not take the responsibility without Lord Granville's direct orders. Since the Russian authorities certainly knew the purpose of his visit through the telegram he sent, the Consul advised him to leave Russia without delay, as he would be arrested and the Consul could do nothing for him in that case. Hespeler, however, did not give up his plan, having once made the long voyage, and stayed there on his own responsibility against the wish of the official British representative. This all the more as he, "not being pleased with the consul's conduct," thought the consul had "some other object" in keeping him away.[16] The only point in which he complied was to bring Hespeler in touch with one of the leading Mennonites in town. So Hespeler became acquainted with Cornelius Jansen and through him with the leading members of the community. They all received him very well and took the greatest interest in the subject of his mission.

From Berdiansk Hespeler went to the country visiting the colonies, being recommended and accompanied by Mennonites from one colony to the other. As the police were very few in number throughout the extensive colonies which were spread around in the steppes, he could travel twelve days without his proceedings being known to the police. The information and offers he had to make on behalf of the Canadian government were most favorably received. He recommended to them particularly Manitoba as this province would suit them best, being entirely level like the country to which they were accustomed. Everywhere he was assured of the good prospects of Canada as their future home in case their petition to the Russian Government should be answered in the negative. They then would take advantage of his offer to send a deputation at the expense of the Canadian government and if this deputation should return with a favorable account, hundreds of the most wealthy families would be ready to leave the following summer. Though the majority still hoped that the Czar would grant their petition, yet the leaders among them had lost the confidence in a decision in their favour. Describing the qualities of the Mennonite farmers, he wrote: "They are a hardy, industrious, orderly and intelligent race, and they would prove a valuable acquisition to Canada, for their villages are patterns of order and industry; large orchards and gardens sprang up where originally

[16] He does not indicate, however, what object he suspects.

could not be found a tree; their intention is to obtain contiguous lots of land so as to form their own communities."

Hespeler met in the colonies the parents of four young men who on their own initiative and expense had gone to see the United States. He asked the parents to instruct their sons to visit Canada also and gave them letters of introduction to Canadian friends.[17] One of the Mennonite leaders informed Hespeler of his intended visit to the Mennonites in North Germany, who, in case their Russian brethren would emigrate, would in a great part join them, and Hespeler should therefore get in touch with them. It was a great disadvantage to Hespeler for his work among the colonists that he had no propaganda material, for at his arrival in Berdiansk he did not find the large case with pamphlets on Canada which he had sent there from Germany three weeks before he left for Russia, and which was certainly seized by the Russian Government as soon as it came across the border. The Mennonites promised to keep Hespeler informed of every step they would take and especially of the results of their deputation to St. Petersburg.

In order to get these people to come to Canada, Hespeler suggested to the Minister of Agriculture that as the long distance from South Russia to the Atlantic Ocean would cause great inconvenience and the poorer classes could not afford the very expensive land voyage, it would be advisable to send ships directly to the Black Sea.

After the trip through the colonies, he went back to Berdiansk and before leaving the country called on the British Consul Schrab and informed him of his experiences with the Mennonites.[18] They agreed that if there would be no change in the law "the exodus will be general and hurried", and that every effort should then be made to direct the movement to Canada. Hespeler also informed the Consul of his intention to suggest to the Canadian Government that the management and direction of the emigration be entirely left to him, Consul Schrab, who with his knowledge of the people and country on the one hand and being acquainted with the Germans on the other, certainly would be in the best position to do this. In case this proposition would be adopted by the Canadian government and consented to by Lord Granville, Schrab suggested that it would be advisable for him to go to Canada as soon as possible in order to make himself acquainted with all the details re-

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[17] Hespeler's report to the Minister of Agriculture, Ottawa, Strassburg, October 21, 1872.

[18] Despatch of Consul Schrab to Lord Granville, Berdiansk, August 5, 1872.

garding the emigration and prepare for the reception of the Mennonites.

The next day Cornelius Jansen called on the British Consul confirming to him the welcome reception Hespeler had found in all the colonies.[19] He further informed him that the Mennonites and Lutheran Germans in the Crimea wrote that they could not agree with the new order and would also leave the country in case of necessity. Therefore, they were closely watching the course pursued by their brethren.

Cornelius Jansen, as spokesman of the Mennonites, again took up with the British Consul the question of military freedom in Canada. The pertinent order in Council, forwarded to them through Schrab, did not quite satisfy the Mennonites. So Cornelius Jansen, a few days before the arrival of Hespeler, had addressed a letter to the Governor General of the Dominion asking for an explanation of the report of the Minister for Militia and defense. They wanted to know exactly what is understood by the A. section of the act, "by which they are exempted from military service, when balloted in time of peace or war, upon such conditions and such regulations as the government in Council may from time to time prescribe." Hespeler, during his stay in the colonies, was often asked the same question and answered it as well as he could. He wrote to his Government for further information about it.

The despatch of Consul Schrab, together with C. Jansen's letter, was referred to the Minister of Agriculture. According to the Minister's report as accepted by the Committee of Privy Council and approved by the Governor General, the Mennonites should be given the fullest assurance of absolute immunity from military service under the section of the Act, and informed that "The Governor General can not prescribe any conditions or regulations by which under any circumstances the Mennonites can be compelled to render any military service, that the Constitution does not confer upon the Governor General in Council any power to override or set aside under any circumstances the plain meaning of Statute Law".[19a] This assurance was communicated through the British Consul to the colonists.

The suggestion that he be charged with the direction of the emigration movement, as reported by Schrab to his authorities, caused in the respective British circles quite a stir. The British

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19 Despatch of the Consul Schrab to Lord Granville, Berdiansk, August 6, 1872.
19a Report of the Committee of Privy Council of September 25, 1872.

Ambassador Lord Loftus, transmitting the despatch of Schrab to Lord Granville, stated[20] that he was inclined to believe from private information that the Russian Government would grant a relaxation of the military law so as to meet the religious scruples of the Mennonites, for, he wrote, the Mennonite leaders were on the one hand exercising a pressure on the Imperial Government by threat of emigration in order to obtain the fulfillment of their wishes, on the other hand they were simultaneously in communication with the Governments of Canada and the United States with the view to secure the best conditions for their future emigration in case of failure with the Imperial Russian Government. Under these circumstances it would be best for the Canadian Government and the British Consul at Berdiansk to maintain an entirely passive attitude. Therefore the request for the management of the emigration by Consul Schrab would place him in a false position, since he would be looked upon as an emigration agent, and this may compromise him with the Russian government. Ambassador Loftus also did not agree with Schrab in his proposition to proceed to Canada for making the necessary preparations, as he was of the opinion that any application for assistance should emanate from the Mennonites themselves; since Schrab had informed them of the willingness of the Canadian government and the conditions under which they could settle, he should abstain from making any further advances to them. "They appear to have a keen eye for their own interests and should they finally decide on emigration (which I very much doubt) will be governed in the selection of their future home by the advantages which may be offered them."

The Secretary of State for the Colonies transmitted the above-mentioned despatches to the Governor General of the Dominion with the communication that he had informed Lord Granville of his opinion that Schrab should in no circumstances undertake a journey to Canada as he proposed.[21] The matter was referred to the Minister of Agriculture, who wrote a Memorandum on that question which was considered by the Committee of the

[20] Despatch of Ambassador Loftus to Lord Granville, St. Petersburg, August 18, 1872.

[21] The Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor General, London, September 12, 1872.

Privy Council and approved by the Governor General.[22] In this memorandum emphasis was given to the desirability of the Mennonites and the question was put whether the acquisition of a large number of industrious thrifty agriculturists would be a matter of sufficient importance to make it worth while trying to prevent their absorption by the United States. The necessity of explaining to the Mennonites the advantage of going to Canada instead of going to the United States had not yet arisen but would do so when they finally decided to quit Russia and the Russian Government gave them the permission to emigrate. Till then it would be dangerous to make any attempt to persuade them to select Canada as their future home. But as soon as the departure would be decided upon with the permission of the Russian Government, it would be of sufficient importance to use influence to induce them to emigrate to Canada.

Thereupon the Secretary of State for the Colonies informed Lord Granville of his opinion[23] that Consul Schrab might be instructed confidentially that he is required to maintain a neutral attitude in order that the Russian Government may have no cause to complain that British influence was exercised to induce the Mennonites to quit Russia. But as the Canadian Government was very desirous to have the Mennonites settle in Canada, if they with the permission of the Russian Government would decide to emigrate, the British Consul should encourage them to select Canada by affording them every information in his power as to the advantages offered by the Government of the Dominion. Soon after that the Foreign Office sent a similar instruction to Consul Schrab.[24]

In the meantime the Minister of Agriculture, very pleased with Hespeler's report on the proposed immigration, decided on his part to do everything in his power to induce the Mennonites to come to Canada. In reply to it he authorized Hespeler to continue the proceedings with the Mennonites and to immediately take up negotiations with a delegation that had been sent by the Mennonites to the United States.[25] The Minister of Agriculture agreed with Hespeler's idea of sending steamers directly to the Black Sea and proposed to appoint an emigration Agent from a-

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22 Order in Council, No. 1082 D, November 7, 1872. A copy of the memorandum was transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

23 The Undersecretary of State for the Colonies to the Undersecretary of State of the Foreign Office, November 30, 1872.

24 Instruction of the Foreign Office to Consul Schrab, December 3, 1872.

25 He has in mind the four young men who went to America, as mentioned above, on their own initiative, and were not sent by the communities.

mong the Mennonites themselves. This agent was to have a remuneration of two dollars per person for all Mennonites emigrating to Canada.

To this last suggestion, however, Hespeler replied that in his opinion it would not create a very favorable impression nor would any one of the Mennonites accept the agency under these circumstances.[26] From his experience with them he thought that they were more conscientious than their co-religionists in Canada or the United States, and in their eyes it would look too much like dealing in human beings. But if a moderate salary was offered to a good man that would be the best in every respect, as he hoped that a very large number would go to Canada. "They are not people like the general run of emigrants, they are a reasoning, thinking, cautious and to a large extent an educated people."

Immediately on receipt of the authorization Hespeler tried to meet the Mennonite representatives. As they did not come to their brethren in Germany as they intended to, because of their meetings at home, Hespeler wired them to appoint the day and select a place at some town on the Black Sea, for "to Berdiansk I dare not go on account of the police and the English Consul—the latter I fear is under the influence of what you suspect."[27] According to their communication Hespeler left for Russia October 28 and met the deputation of the Mennonites at Kertsch on the Black Sea.[28] One of the deputies was one of those young men, who had visited Canada and the United States and to whom the letters of introduction from Hespeler were forwarded by their parents. He said that Canada, the people and land, the general system and the apparent prosperity had impressed them more than any State of the Union.

This time Hespeler made it his duty to visit also the Lutheran and Reformed German colonies in the Crimea, Cherson and Bessarabia, much greater in number than the Mennonites. But there his movements were harassed by the "watchfulness of the police," and so he was able to visit only very few colonies.[29] They were as determined to leave their prosperous homes as the Mennonites, once they were convinced that they would be deprived of religious

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26 Hespeler to the Minister of Agriculture, Pope, Strassburg, October 21, 1872.

27 As the communication to the Minister of Agriculture is not among the records there is no trace of what he suspected.

28 Hespeler's report to the Minister of Agriculture, Strassburg, November 25, 1872.

29 Hespeler in one of his later reports of his mission to Germany and Russia, Waterloo, Ontario, March 1, 1873.

freedom and would be subject to the enforcement of the new military law. They were all "proprietors, which have lost all confidence in any promises that might hereafter be made by the Russian Government; they are people of means and can afford to undertake the land voyage from their homes to any of the Atlantic seaports, of which the largest number intend going to Canada."

The proposition of the Canadian Minister of Agriculture to send ships to the Black Sea was heartily welcomed by the colonists and it seemed that such assistance alone could secure the greatest success. But having made full enquiries, Hespeler, of course had to state that the Russian Government would prevent with a strong hand any move towards the slightest assistance for the purpose of inducing "the German colonists, their best agriculturists' to leave the country. Therefore the plan of embarking the emigrants at some port on the Black Sea would meet with the greatest difficulties. No emigration office or station could possibly be opened on Russian soil, nor would any person be allowed to travel and organize the emigration movement in the colonies. Nobody would even be willing to accept any agency without the express permission of the Government, neither would it be advisable for anybody to make such an attempt. All propositions and plans concerning outside assistance to the emigrants could not be realized and had to be dropped. Hespeler thought that if it should be desirable to ask the Russian government for the concession of opening an office, it might be advisable to explain to the Foreign Office in London the importance of the step to be taken. Though there had not been any agents from the United States among the colonists as yet, they constantly received letters from friends. The following spring they would take advantage of the proposal and send a deputation to Canada. Meanwhile they kept in close contact with Hespeler and informed him of every move in this matter. Hespeler was greatly assisted in Russia by a missionary who had been there for 30 years.[30]

In Odessa Hespeler called on the British Consul, General Abbott, with whom he talked over the matter. Abbott told him that it would be impossible to carry out any plan until it had been settled in St. Petersburg and that if he raised the question here, it would be referred to St. Petersburg "whence he might never get an answer." He gave Hespeler a negative advice as to his as-

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30 In the same report Hespeler wrote that he received news, that in the Canton Glarus in Switzerland a considerable number of people intended to emigrate the following spring and that quite a number of them could be induced to go to Canada.

sistance to the emigrants. Hespeler agreed with that and recommended that the Canadian Government should make an application through the British to the Russian Government.

The contents of this conversation was immediately reported by Abbott to the British Ambassador Lord Loftus in St. Petersburg,[31] who of course was not agreeably surprised to hear again, and from another corner of South Russia, of Hespeler and his doings. In his despatch to Lord Granville[32] he called the advice given by Abbott, "judicious," and continued: "I am not aware under whose instructions Mr. Hespeler is acting, but should he again return to Bessarabia with the ideas and instructions he divulged to Mr. Abbott, I am afraid that he will not only get himself, but H. M.'s government in trouble." He therefore proposed that Hespeler be instructed not to visit South Russia again. He has given instructions to the Consul General to have no communication with Hespeler or any other emigration agent. In another despatch to Lord Granville, Ambassador Loftus called attention to the fact,[33] that the confidential papers relative to the emigration of the Mennonites, together with the memorandum of the Canadian Minister of Agriculture were sent to him through the Russian Government Office. So the Russian Government would certainly know all about it and every suggestion in that paper would be of no effect. In his opinion it was in the first place imprudent on the part of the Canadian Government to send a special agent to Russia for that purpose. Any step should be avoided which could be construed as a violation of Russian law.

After consideration of this matter, Lord Granville informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the conduct of Hespeler was liable to create inconvenient discussions between the Russian and the British Governments and he suggested therefore that Hespeler should be instructed to use the greatest prudence in this matter and even that all communication with the Mennonites should be suspended till the permission to emigrate had been given by the Russian Government.[34]

In the meantime the proposal made by Hespeler to the Canadian Government after his second visit to Russia, went through

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[31] Consul General Abbott to Ambassador Lord Loftus, Odessa, November 6, 1872.

[32] Lord Loftus to Lord Granville, St. Petersburg, November 12, 1872.

[33] Ambassador Loftus to Lord Granville, St. Petersburg, November 11, 1872.

[34] Secretary of State of the Foreign Office to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, December 13, 1872.

the Canadian channels and came approved to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who suggested to the Foreign Office that an application should be made to the Russian Government on the subject. To this Ambassador Loftus replied that he "cannot think that it would be becoming for a Foreign Government to apply for permission to induce their subjects to emigrate; any such steps would be more likely to create than to prevent suspicions of attempt being made to induce these emigrants to quit the soil." No steps could be taken until the Mennonites would be allowed by the Russian Government to emigrate.[35]

Truly enough the activities of Hespeler soon became known to the high Russian authorities in St. Petersburg and brought forth an interview between the Russian Foreign Ministry and the British Ambassador.[36] On the instruction of Prince Gortschakoff the director in the Foreign Ministry, de Westmann, said to Ambassador Loftus, that he had "to speak to him on a subject of some delicacy." The Minister of Interior had received from the Governor General of Bessarabia a report on the attempt being made by foreign agents to induce the German colonists to emigrate, and that the British Consul at Berdiansk was also implicated in these attempts. De Westmann was instructed to communicate this matter to the British Ambassador with the request to warn the British Consul against any assistance to the emigration movement. Lord Loftus replied that Schrab had received the most positive instructions to hold no communication with the Mennonites and to give no aid to foreign Agents in that matter, that he was convinced that Schrab was in no way implicated in the emigration activities, but he would warn Schrab again and remind him of his instructions. De Westmann informed Ambassador Loftus thoroughly on the attitude of the Russian Government, the new military law, and added that the Russian Government would "extremely regret the loss of a large well conducted and industrious population and they would therefore not see with indifference a foreign agency at work to induce the population to leave the Empire."

After this interview Lord Loftus addressed a rather sharp and strict letter to Schrab with new instructions which would "impress on him the necessity of renewed caution and discretion on his part in order that he may not subject himself to the serious consequences of an infraction of Russian law."

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35 Ambassador Loftus to Lord Granville, St. Petersburg, January 21, 1873.

36 Ambassador Loftus to Lord Granville, St. Petersburg, April 16, 1873.

Not only was the proposed emigration of the Mennonites a matter of significance for Canada, but one of some concern for the United States as well.

On March 7, 1872, Mr. Smith, the United States Consul at Odessa, reported to A. G. Curtis, United States Minister at St. Petersburg, about a petition he had received from the Mennonites in Southern Russia.[37] The document was written in German and signed by thirty-two prominent members of the Mennonite communities, who stated that they were heads of families connected by family and fellowship with about 100 colonies, "numbering altogether some hundred and fifty thousand souls." In the petition they ask the United States Consul to refer to higher authority some questions concerning their proposed emigration to the United States. It was a similar petition, with the same questions, as had been presented to the Canadian Government through the British Consul at Berdiansk.

In transmitting their petition, the consul concluded that "the Mennonites are known to be very honest, industrious and exemplary people, and no doubt, if once established in the United States, would make themselves and the country the better."

To this request, E. Schuyler, replacing at that time Ambassador Curtis, sent to Consul Smith an answer[38] to be communicated to the Mennonites saying that compulsory military service does not exist in the United States. Also, by the homestead laws of the United States every settler who has declared his intention to become a citizen would receive 160 acres (about 56 desjatines) of land. Besides this, land could be purchased from the government or from railway companies at very cheap rates. The standard Government price would be $1.25 per acre. The Northern Pacific Railway would offer lands on long credit and at cheap rates, furnish work to emigrants, and also assist them in emigrating at reduced rates. Whether Congress or some of the western states interested in immigration might grant some aid could not be certain as it would have to be decided in America. It might be of great advantage to send a small delegation to the United States in order to make the necessary preparations. The answer also suggested that the Mennonites in Pennsylvania, if addressed, might take some interest in their brethren in Russia. In conclusion Schuyler added that he would suggest caution as it was a crime for a Russian subject to

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[37] United States Department of State, *Despatches, Russia,* vol. 27, No. 168, copy 1, March 7, 1872.

[38] *Ibid.,* Copy 2.

emigrate without the permission of the government, and it was also a crime to induce them to emigrate. In case therefore the Mennonites should decide to go to America, it would probably "be necessary to have some diplomatic negotiations to obtain for them the requisite permission."

At the same time, E. Schuyler sent without delay a despatch to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish concerning this matter.[39] Here he gave a short outline of their history, how they came to Russia and how they got along. Then he transmitted to the Secretary of State the questions and desires of the Mennonites, asking for the opinion of the government and for the necessary instructions. This was the first official statement concerning the Mennonites that came to the Department of State. It served as the basis for further negotiations. In this statement, Schuyler wrote about the Mennonites that they were "good agriculturists but are particularly noted for their plantations of fruit, forest and mulberry trees. This culture they have followed with great success on steppes that were formerly perfectly bare. The Mennonites are intelligent, industrious and persevering and in addition very clean, orderly, moral, temperate and economical. As may be judged from their application, they are excessively religious. Petzold, in his *Travels* in 1855, says that it is his firm conviction that Russia can not show any more diligent and more useful citizens. There are schools in every village and education is universal amongst them. . . . I do not find in Europe any better emigrants than these Mennonites and should the whole colony go to the United States, they would rapidly develop into good and useful citizens."

The Department of State replied with instructions to Schuyler,[40] that "it is not to be doubted that they would be valuable citizens and would be deserving of welcome to this country. As Russian law, however, forbids emigration or its encouragement, it would not be advisable for this government to interfere in the matter until the disposition of that government which you proposed to ascertain shall be known. It is not probable, however, that Congress would be disposed to make the case of the Mennonites an exception by granting them money or lands towards inducing them to emigrate or compensating them therefore."

The United States Government was very cautious and avoided everything that could be viewed by the Russian Foreign

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39 Despatch of March 30, 1872.

40 Instruction No. 136. April 22, 1872.

Ministry as interference in Russian internal affairs. Even later, when the choice of America as their future home country was decided upon and the emigration of the Mennonites had already started, no assistance was given whatsoever. When the Ambassador in St. Petersburg was asked by representatives of the Mennonites from Germany to assist the emigrants who were being illtreated by Russian officials in getting their passports, he reported to the Secretary of State that he "of course declined to take any steps in the matter and shall continue to decline, unless I receive direct orders from you."[41] To this Hamilton Fish in his instructions replied that he expresses his "commendation of the reserve maintained by you in regard to the subject."[42]

E. Schuyler called on de Westmann, director in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in regard to the subject.[43] De Westmann seemed opposed to making any exemption from the obligation of military service in favor of the Mennonites or other persons. When de Westmann communicated the question of the United States representative to Prince Gortschakoff, he said they would be able to reply only when they get a petition from the Mennonites, and the answer would be given by yes or no. On another occasion, Gortschakoff replied that no objection would be made to their going, but that they would not be allowed to sell their lands and would be obliged to pay taxes for some years in advance.[44]

(To be continued)

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[41] Despatch No. 77, St. Petersburg, May 20, 1874.

[42] Instruction No. 61, June 12, 1874.

[43] Despatch No. 171, April 6, 1872.

[44] In a conversation with the British Ambassador Lord Loftus. Despatch of E. Schuyler to the Department of State, No. 178, May 4, 1872.

THE RISE AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE SWISS BRETHREN CHURCH:

II. The Beginnings in Zurich

John Horsch

We have intimated that the fathers of the Mennonite Church in Switzerland were for a number of years identified with the Zwinglian reformation movement. They parted ways with Ulrich Zwingli when, contrary to his former reformation program, he chose a course which would necessarily lead to a union of church and state, implying far-going modifications of his doctrinal position and his disapproval of certain Biblical practices. Before dwelling further upon the origin of the Mennonite movement, we shall give attention to the fathers of the movement personally.

Conrad Grebel was the recognized leader among the founders of the first Mennonite (Swiss Brethren) Church. He was born probably in 1489. His father, Jacob Grebel, a nobleman, was a Senator, that is to say, a member of the Council of Zurich (after 1515). Conrad was the oldest of a family of eight or nine children. During his youth the family lived in the small town of Grueningen, the center of a political district of the canton Zurich of which Jacob Grebel was at that time the highest government official (landvogt).

According to the testimony of Zwingli, Conrad Grebel's father was "a distinguished man, held among us in the highest regard."[1] "He was an honorable, wise, and in the city of Zurich a very eminent, highly esteemed man," says Heinrich Bullinger, the successor of Zwingli as the religious head of the Protestant state churches of German speaking Switzerland.[2] Another contemporary chronicler states that Conrad's father, in the earlier period of the reformation movement, "supported Zwingli in all that he preached and taught, and assisted him in his efforts."

Conrad, as a boy and youth, attended the schools of Zurich. In the autumn of 1514 he became a student in the university of

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1 *Zwinglis Werke*, VII, p. 781.

2 Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte*, I, p. 373.

Basel, and from 1515 to 1518 he studied in the university of Vienna in Austria. While in Vienna he lived with Joachim von Watt (called Vadian) of St. Gall in Switzerland, his intimate, fatherly friend, who was at that time professor of the classical languages in this institution, and who later married Conrad's sister Martha. From October, 1518, to July, 1520, Conrad was a student in Paris. After his return from Paris, he went to Basel to continue his studies, and then accepted a position as corrector with the printing firm of Cratander in the same city, to assist in the publication of Latin books. The head of this firm, in a letter, referred to him as a young man of excellent talent whose presence was an honor to his establishment. Zwingli, in August, 1522, spoke of Conrad Grebel as a very noble and learned youth. Vadian and a number of others, who learned to know young Grebel, made mention also of his outstanding talents and uprightness of character.[3]

The scholarly attainments of Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz (of whom we shall hear more directly) are attested to by the fact that, as Bullinger states, Zwingli promised to recommend them for the positions of teacher of Greek and Hebrew in the theological school that was planned for Zurich[4] and was to be established as soon after the abolition of Romanism as circumstances would permit. Zwingli's recommendation assured their appointment. Before this school was opened, however, both Grebel and Manz had withdrawn from Zwingli's leadership. Bullinger states expressly that they were well qualified for these positions and that they would have been appointed if they had not forsaken the state church and become Anabaptists.[5] George Finsler, joint editor of Zwingli's Works, states that Felix Manz was disappointed by the election of Jacob Ceporin as professor of Hebrew at the time of the opening of the theological school at Zurich, in June, 1525.[6] Emil Egli also was of this opinion.[7] Many writers have made similar assertions ignoring the fact that at the time of the opening of this school Grebel and Manz were leaders of the Swiss Brethren movement. As just stated, Bullinger says, they would have been appointed had they not withdrawn from Zwingli's leadership.

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[3] Conrad Grebel was united in matrimony with Agathe von Fynland, a native of Alsace, in February, 1522. After his death she married Jacob Ziegler of Zurich.

[4] Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte,* I, p. 237.

[5] The same work, p. 289.

[6] *Zwinglis Werke,* IV, p. 388.

[7] *St. Galler Taeufer,* p. 26; *Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte,* p. 341.

Conrad Grebel was a student of the humanites (that is, the liberal arts), and in this sense was a humanist. His letters of that period prove that he was not a religious liberal. However, he was before his conversion but slightly interested in religion.

In the autumn of the year 1522 Conrad Grebel experienced a religious awakening. Melchior Macrinus, of Solothurn, wrote on October 5, 1522, to Zwingli expressing his joy because Conrad Grebel had become "a distinguished patron of the Gospel". On November 21, of the same year Conrad Grebel in a letter to Vadian expressed deep interest in the study of Scripture. His awakening was followed by a thorough conversion which marked a distinct epoch in his life. He renounced all worldliness and became a zealous student of Scripture. In a letter to Vadian, dated July 28, 1523, he wrote: "Pray Christ for me that I may be firm and steadfast in trusting in Him. I shall endeavor to do likewise for you. Further I feel to add that, strengthened by the gift of divine mercy and grace, I mean to bear humbly whatever may fall to my lot." Again he wrote to Vadian, on December 29, 1522, concerning his mother who was religiously quite disinterested: "I fear for her soul if she further delays 'putting on Christ' (Gal. 3:27) and becoming a new creature through the Holy Spirit." His later letters and the part which he had in the second Zurich debate show him to have been at that time a man of keen religious interest and deep convictions. Zwingli evidently expected much of him as an assistant in the great task of the reformation of the church.

Felix Manz was born about 1490 in Zurich[8] and was educated in the higher schools of Zurich; he also studied in Vienna. He had a good working knowledge of Latin and Greek, and had made a specialty of the study of Hebrew. From the beginning he identified himself with the Zwinglian reform movement and frequently served as leader in meetings for Bible study. When Zwingli decided in favor of a union of church and state, Felix Manz became a consistent coworker with Conrad Grebel in opposing the proposed establishment of a new state church.

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8 Manz was the son of a priest at the cathedral of this city. While priests were forbidden to marry it was in those times not difficult for a priest to get the permission of the bishop, by payment of an annual tax, to live with a woman as if in wedlock. Many prominent men of the Reformation period were sons of priests and had their fathers' names as if they had been legally born. A conspicuous example is that of Heinrich Bullinger who was the son of a priest.

George Cajakob, called Blaurock, was born in the village of Bonaduz in the Swiss canton called the Grisons. He was educated at Chur (Coire), the principal town of this canton, and became a monk in St. Lucius' convent at the same place. When the reformation movement reached these parts he left the cloister and, toward the end of the year 1524, went to Zurich, the center of the reformation movement in Switzerland, to get in touch with Ulrich Zwingli. A contemporary chronicler relates that Blaurock showed great zeal and had many discussions with Zwingli but did not fully approve his reformation program. He then heard of Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz and was told that they were more thorough-going in their demands for a reformation of the church. After some effort he found them and conferred with them regarding matters of faith. He identified himself with the circle which had formed under their leadership. Blaurock[9] was a man of deep convictions, of zeal and eloquence, "the second Paul" among the Brethren, as some referred to him.

Andrew Castelberger, of the Grisons, was a bookseller who from the beginning of the Reformation movement had assisted in spreading the writings of the reformers in Zurich and vicinity. He was also known as Andrew Auf der Stuelzen, since he was lame in one of his limbs and was compelled to use crutches. The fact that Conrad Grebel wrote him lengthy letters in Latin shows that Castelberger was well educated. As early as the summer of 1522 he, with Zwingli's evident approval, held Bible meetings at Zurich. After the division in the reformation party had taken place, he became a zealous defender of the principles and doctrines of those who followed the leadership of Conrad Grebel.

Wilhelm Reublin was a priest at St. Alban's Catholic Church in the Swiss city of Basel where he began to preach against unscriptural doctrine and practice. Great crowds thronged the church to hear his sermons. In the great annual processions it was customary that the priest leading the procession through the streets carried relics consisting largely of what were supposed to be particles of the bodies of departed saints. In the procession held June 13, 1522, Reublin carried the open Bible, saying, "This is the true sacred thing; the other is only dead men's bones." He

[9] This name, by which he became generally known was given him because after his arrival in Zurich he often wore a blue coat. It was, by the way, often the case that men adopted names which originally were nicknames. Carlstadt's real name, for example, was Andreas Bodenstein; his birth-place was the town of Carlstadt in Franconia. Balthasar Hubmaier often called himself Friedberger (Latin, Pacimontanus) since he was born at Friedberg in Hesse. Many similar examples could be mentioned.

was banished by the Council of Basel, June 27, of the same year, and went to Zurich where he was appointed priest for the village of Wytikon near the city. In August, 1523, he married, the first of the priests of Switzerland to take this step.[10] On account of a sermon in which he had spoken disapprovingly of infant baptism he was arrested and given a hearing at Zurich in August of the year 1524. Later he was baptized and united with the Swiss Brethren.

As intimated, the fathers of the Mennonite (Swiss Brethren) Church were for a few years of one mind with Ulrich Zwingli and whole-heartedly supported his reformation program. By the time of the second disputation with the Romanists at Zurich (October, 1523) both Zwingli and Grebel had made marked progress in evangelical enlightenment, nevertheless they still held at this time various Roman Catholic views which somewhat later they recognized as unscriptural. Zwingli intimated on this occasion that there was no thought of repudiating the doctrine that the bread and the wine are the real body and blood of Christ.

In this second disputation in which the question of the abolition of the mass and the images was discussed, a difference became distinctly noticeable between Grebel and Zwingli in their general attitude toward practical church reformation. On the last day of the debate Conrad Grebel and his friend Simon Stumpf demanded the abolition of the mass without further hesitation. Both in this debate and in the previous and later writings of Zwingli and some of his assistants this Roman practice was shown to be altogether unscriptural and contrary to evangelical conceptions. As the debate proceeded Grebel said: "The one thing necessary before all else is the abolition of the mass. Much has been said [both in this debate and previously] about the mass but none of the priests is willing to forsake this great abomination." To these words Zwingli replied: "The Council [the civil authorities] will decide concerning the mass." Zwingli, in other words, indicated that the mass would be discarded as soon as the Council gave orders to this effect. Thereupon Simon Stumpf addressed Zwingli with these memorable words: "Master Ulrich, you have not the right to leave the decision of this question to the Council.

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10 A number of priests of Zurich, among them Zwingli, had contracted what was spoken of as "secret marriages"—clearly a misnomer. Reublin was the first priest to have his marriage publicly solemnized. *Zwinglis Werke,* II, p. 732.

The matter is already decided; the Spirit of God decides it."[11] The latter expression of Stumpf is clearly an appeal to Scripture as given by inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Zwingli himself, on the same occasion, spoke repeatedly of scriptural truth as the teaching of the Holy Spirit. For example, addressing the Council Zwingli said: "I admonish you with all diligence that you submit yourselves to God in the things which the Spirit of God teaches and commands.[12] Simon Stumpf concluded his remarks by stating that if the Council rendered a decision contrary to the Word of God, that is to say, if they demanded the further observance of the mass, he would not obey them.

With this statement Simon Stumpf, who was priest at Hoengg near Zurich, gave expression to the general attitude of Conrad Grebel and his friends, viz., since mass is contrary to Scripture and an abomination, there could be no excuse for its further observance. Stumpf never swerved from his resolution to cease saying mass. When after this second disputation the Council decided that all priests must continue saying mass, he resigned his charge as a priest and served his people henceforth as a minister of the Gospel. On November 3, of the same year, 1523, he was ordered by the Council to leave the village. A petition of his parishioners to permit him to remain was not granted. On the 20th day of the same month he was formally exiled from the canton and territory of Zurich. Simon Stumpf was the most straightforward character among the Zwinglian priests of Zurich, a man whose conscience revolted against doing for the sake of convenience and policy that which was recognized to be sinful, yea, idolatrous and blasphemous. In point of conscientiousness and strict loyalty to conviction he differed from all other priests who had accepted Zwinglian views.

From this time forward Zwingli began to deviate in various respects from his former scriptural reformation program. Scarcely a half year previously he had taught that the civil authorities should be obeyed only in so far as their orders concurred with the teaching of Scripture. In June of the year 1523, in his booklet *Of Divine Righteousness,* he said that it would be an error to suppose that the mass and other unscriptural usages should be retained and practiced "until the civil government may give orders to the contrary." He said further: "One must not ask the government in such matters, for the civil authorities are not ordained

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[11] *Zwinglis Werke,* II, p. 784.

[12] *Ibid.,* p. 799.

to rule over the Word of God and Christian liberty, but only over things that are of a secular nature, as I have abundantly shown above."[13]

As already indicated, the three days' disputation in October, 1523, (the second disputation) had been ordered by the Council of Zurich for the purpose of showing that the mass and the images were unscriptural. Zwingli clearly expected and believed that at the close of this debate the Council would order the abolition of these abuses which he declared to be sinful. That this was his expectation is evident from a number of statements which he made in the course of the discussions. He said, for example, that if "my lords" [the Council] further delayed the matter of the introduction of practical reforms, he would not obey them but would preach against them.[14] But when, toward the close of the discussions it became evident that the Council was (for political reasons) not ready to permit the abolition of the mass, and when at the same time it was seen that there were those who would not consent to the further observance of the mass, Zwingli decided that a nominal unity of the church must be maintained by the Council.

Zwingli thought it best to retrace his steps and to take the position that no changes from Roman Catholic practice must be made without orders from the civil authorities, and yet he recognized the need of these changes. His final utterance on the last day of the debate was a solemn warning that, as concerned the mass and the images, no change must be undertaken without the permission of the Council. In other words, he demanded that the Roman Catholic practices should be kept up until the government would order their abolition. This was a fundamental deviation from the position which he had formerly held concerning the relationship between church and state. While in theory he continued to defend the doctrine of the sole authority of Scripture, he in reality took the position that in matters of practical reformation the Council was the authority to be heeded. The Brethren declined to follow Zwingli in this departure from his former position.

Thus Zwingli virtually committed the task of church reformation to the civil authorities. The populace was placed under obligation to accept the religious decrees of the Council as authoritative and binding. This necessarily led to a union of church and

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13 *Zwinglis Werke,* I, pp. 494, 514 f; cf. Jackson, *Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli,* Philadelphia, 1901, p. 102 f.

14 *Zwinglis Werke,* II, p. 775; cf. pp. 708, 503.

state, implying that the church, by force of the civil law, would comprise the whole population. In other words, this position precluded the establishment of a church of the New Testament type. This new attitude of Zwingli was obviously inconsistent with the conception of the church which he had heretofore defended. In a letter dated July 24, 1520 he had, for example, written to his friend Myconius:

> Christ hath said to the Apostles, "In the world ye shall have tribulation," and again, "Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake," and "The time will come when whosoever killeth you will believe he has rendered God a service." Also the children of Israel, though they were finally permitted to live in the promised land, were not free from oppression of the Philistines who tried to entice them to idolatry and transgression of the divine law and make heathen of them. So also we Christians will always have those who are persecuting Christ in us, though they may make ever so great claims for themselves and may say that they are acting in the name of Christ. For a Christian is only he who has the characteristic by which Christ would have His own known when He says, "By this, as by a distinct mark, shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye do what I have commanded you." The question is, Are we striving for worldly glory, or for the glory of Christ? The more cruel the persecution, the more fearlessly must Christ's soldiers maintain their position. For I want to tell you frankly, I believe that, as the church came into existence by blood, so it can be renewed only by blood, not otherwise. And we must not expect a reward in this world. We must not be offended if men have displeasure in us, but should remind ourselves of the words of Scripture, "If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ," and, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake." Never will the world be a friend to Christ. He sent His own as "sheep among wolves."

It is readily seen that the conception of the church, as presented in the above quotation and elsewhere in Zwingli's early writings, is not that of an organization united with and protected by the state. This conception of the church is not that of an organization comprising the whole population of a given state without regard to the personal religious attitude of the individuals. It is not by any means the conception of a church bearing the sword of persecution, such as was shortly afterwards established by the Council with Zwingli's consent and coöperation.

By the decision to establish a state church to take the place of the Roman Catholic state church, the immediate outward success of the Zwinglian reformation movement was assured in all cantons and states whose civil authorities embraced the Zwinglian

creed. The success of the movement was reasonably certain, provided that the Zwinglian cantons were not overcome in a possible war with the Catholic cantons. For such and other reasons Zwingli was finally persuaded that such a course would best serve the cause of Christ, closing his eyes to the compromises which it involved. The first step in this direction was his consent to the Council's demand that the priests and people must be content with the observance of the Roman Catholic mass until the Council saw best to abandon it.

Thus Ulrich Zwingli and his collaborators consented to an outstanding compromise which led to other compromises involving vital modifications of their position in various respects. We have already indicated the changes involved in Zwingli's conception of the church. In his earlier writings he had expressed himself unfavorably about infant baptism. He had also recognized the need of scriptural church discipline, which he found altogether impracticable in the state church. He had defended the principle of nonresistance and admitted that the swearing of oaths is contrary to the command of Christ. Regarding these points Zwingli now gradually changed his former position, as will be further shown later. It was his deviation from his earlier reformation program that was the cause of the parting of the ways between Zwingli on the one hand and Grebel and his friends on the other.

As indicated in a previous article, both Zwingli and Luther believed the mass to be blasphemy and abomination. Needless to say, their collaborators shared this view. Leo Judae, Zwingli's most prominent co-worker in Zurich referred to the mass as "a grossly blasphemous practice." Wolfgang Capito spoke of it as "blasphemy against God" and "idolatry more abominable than that of the ancient Canaanites." Martin Butzer said that mass is idolatry and "the most grievous outrage against God." In Johannes Oecolampad's opinion the mass was a greater abomination than any other vices and crimes that could be named.[15] Nevertheless they took a compromising attitude as regards the observance of the mass before it was abolished by the civil authorities. In a letter to William Farel, dated February 6, 1525, Oecolampad stated that he had advised one of the priests of Basel who preached Zwinglian doctrine, "to deceive the public" by saying mass in appearance only, omitting the words which are the most important part of the mass, and substituting some other words. Mass

15 Herzog, *Leben Oecolampads,* I, p. 242.

being said in Latin, and these particular words being not said audibly, the deception would not be noticed.[16] But this stratagem did not remove the offense, since the people were left under the impression that the priest engaged in that which he believed to be blasphemy. This particular priest, however (his name was Jacob Immler) found it impossible to overcome his scruples. He laid down his office and became a weaver.

Grebel and his friends felt the continuous observance of the mass in Zurich, with Zwingli's consent, to be a glaring violation of evangelical doctrine and principle, and an intolerable offense. This is clear from Grebel's letters to Vadian and to Thomas Muenzer. Grebel wrote on December 18, 1523, to Vadian, complaining of Zwingli's inconsistent attitude as concerned the observance of the mass. He indicated that such an attitude openly compromised the authority of Scripture. Grebel stated that in Zurich God's Word was "compromised, thrust back, fettered,"[17] and in a letter to Muenzer he expressed himself similarly.[18] And it was by no means the conscience of Grebel and his friends alone that was burdened by the compromises of the ruling reformation party. Dr. Rudolph Staehelin, the author of the standard biography of Zwingli, says to the point: "The prolonged observance of the mass was felt to be an unbearable burden of conscience after it had been spoken of by Zwingli and his associates in plain words as an insult to God."[19] The historian C. A. Cornelius says: "As correct as was Zwingli's general attitude from the viewpoint of the state, and as great political advantages it secured for his ecclesiastical work, just so inconsistent was it, on the other hand, considered from the evangelical angle, and so sure was it to lead to religious dissensions and conflicts within the reformation movement."[20]

We have seen in a previous article that Martin Luther took a similar attitude as Zwingli on the question of a union of church and state. Conrad Grebel, in the name of the circle with which he was identified, wrote a letter to Luther in the autumn of the year

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16 Herminjard, *Correspondence des Reformateurs,* I, p. 335.

17 *Vadianische Briefsammlung,* III, p. 50.

18 Grebel's letter to Thomas Muenzer is found in Cornelius, C. A., *Muenst. Aufruhr,* II, pp. 240-249; *Gedenkschrift zum 400 jaehrigen Jubilaeum der Mennoniten,* pp. 89-102. An English translation by Walter Rauschenbusch in "The American Journal of Theology," IX, No. 1. In passing it may be noted that the singing disapproved here by Grebel is obviously the chanting included in the mass liturgy.

19 Staehelin, *Huldreich Zwingli,* I, p. 349.

20 Cornelius, *Geschichte des Muensterischen Aufruhrs,* II, p. 18.

1524. Unfortunately this letter is lost, but in his lengthy letter to Thomas Muenzer, written about the same time, Grebel stated that they had addressed Luther in a letter and had "admonished him to desist from the false sparing of the weak," since Luther defended the view that, out of regard to "the weak", practical reforms should be deferred. To this letter Luther never replied. Erhard Hegenwalt, a student at Wittenberg, upon Grebel's suggestion, asked the reformer of Wittenberg whether he had received the letter. In his reply to Grebel Hegenwalt said: "I inquired of Luther whether he intended to answer your letter. He asked me to give you his regards lest you think him indisposed toward you. And he further said that he was at a loss to know what to reply to your letter."[21] Obviously, then, Grebel's appeal to Luther was at least kindly received.

About Conrad Grebel and those who stood with him on the great questions of the day, the Zwinglian chronicler Walter Klarer, of St. Gall, said: "They were for the most part precisely those who before had been the best with us in the Word of God."[22] So long as they could believe that Zwingli proposed to advance along strictly Scriptural lines, they were his most loyal and devoted followers. This is stated by a number of Zwinglian (Reformed) church historians besides the above-mentioned Walter Klarer. Rudolf Staehelin, the author of the most thorough biography of Zwingli, says: "They were of his most faithful and resolute friends."[23] Professor Wilhelm Hadorn, of Bern, states that "they were of the most faithful and zealous of Zwingli's adherents."[24] C. A. Baechtold says: "They were originally the best friends of Zwingli."[25]

The contemporary Zwinglian chroniclers, including Zwingli himself, stated unanimously that Conrad Grebel, Felix Manz and their associates insisted on the need not only of discarding the mass but of seceding from the Roman Catholic Church and establishing an evangelical church, without depending on permission by the government to do so. Zwingli said repeatedly that Conrad Grebel and others demanded immediate withdrawal from the

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21 Staub, M., *Die Beziehungen des Taeufers Conrad Grebel zu seinem Schwager, Vadian,* Zurich, 1895, p. 50.

22 Simler, *Sammlung,* I, p. 824.

23 *Huldreich Zwingli, sein Leben und Wirken,* I, p. 462.

24 *Kirchengeschichte der reformierten Schweiz,* p. 68.

25 *Die Schaffhauser Wiedertaeufer in der Reformationszeit,* Beitraege zur vaterlaendischen Geschichte, 1900, p. 74.

Church of Rome,[26] and Heinrich Bullinger made the same statement.[27] The chronicler Wolfgang Haller says that Grebel and Manz urged that "the evangelical people should have no further fellowship with Romanism in order to have a pure, separate church.[28] The Zwinglian chronicler Johannes Kessler, of the city of St. Gall, wrote: "Conrad Grebel, Felix Manz, and others were of the opinion that those who had received the Gospel and were now called evangelical, should first of all renounce Romanism and thus have a pure church." Kessler adds that "the ministers of the Word of God in Zurich, above all Ulrich Zwingli," would not permit the withdrawal of a portion of the population from the Roman Church. Zwingli's program called for the establishment of a new state church to consist of the whole population just as the Roman Catholic church had comprised the people as a whole. The changes in faith and practice were to be brought about by decrees of the government. Thus an outward religious unity would be maintained, though not without outstanding compromises, such as the continued observance of the mass until the civil authorities ordered its abolition. The heads of the state were determined to maintain the religious unity of the population by the use of force, and Zwingli supported them in carrying out this program.

Heinrich Bullinger, in his larger work against the Swiss Brethren, relates that Conrad Grebel, Felix Manz, and others who shared their views often assembled themselves. In their opinion, he says, all that was done at that time in the way of abolishing unevangelical practices fell far short of scriptural requirements, (the mass being yet observed in all the churches). Bullinger says further that they came to Zwingli often to protest against the "lukewarmness" and inconsistencies of his general attitude. They felt the conitnued observance of the mass, with Zwingli's consent, to be a grave offense. They indicated that God's Word was violated and denied by following the Council's pertinent decisions. Grebel and his friends showed that the authority of the Council was permitted to take the place of the authority of Scripture. They asserted, says Bullinger further, that "it was necessary to show greater earnestness and determination in matters that concern the church and the kingdom of Christ."[29]

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[26] *Zwinglis Werke,* IV, pp. 206 f., 591.

[27] *Widertoufferen Ursprung,* 9 a.

[28] Simler, *Sammlung alter und neuer Urkunden,* I, 124.

[29] Bullinger, *Widertoufferen Ursprung,* p. 9 a.

Bullinger further states Zwingli's reasons for disapproving the program of Grebel and his friends. Zwingli's principal argument was that "there are at this time many respectable people who do not oppose the Word, and concerning whom there is great hope, but who would by our withdrawal [from the Roman Catholic Church] become indignant and contrary-minded." Without question there were many who were at heart Romanists and did not favor any changes, but since the Council had declared itself for the eventual abolition of Romanism, they did not openly oppose Zwingli's preaching. Their practical attitude was one of virtual indifference.

Zwingli himself, in one of his books, gives an obviously correct statement of the plan which the Brethren suggested to him as regards the organization of a Christian church. He wrote to the point:

> They addressed us in the following manner: It goes without saying that there will ever be those who will refuse to yield to the gospel requirements, even in communities which boast of the Christian name.[30] Obviously it is not to be expected that all inhabitants of a given country would agree to live as Christians should live. The Acts of the Apostles indicate that those who believed seceded from the others. And then, as others believed, they were added to those who had already formed a church. In like manner, they said, we must now proceed. They begged us to make a public statement inviting those who had decided to be followers of Christ to stand with us. They expected that our forces would gain in strength after a separation from the multitude of those who do not believe. It was needful that the church elect its own leaders from the number of the devout. For it was clear that there were many ungodly both in the Council [which ruled the church] and in this promiscuous church [comprising the whole population without regard to their personal religious attitude].[31]

The assertion that Grebel begrudged Zwingli his position of leadership, and therefore inaugurated a movement in which he could be leader, is clearly unfounded.[32] This assertion contradicts

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30 In the so-called Christian states where the whole population consisted of church members.

31 *Zwinglis Werke,* ed. Schuler and Schulthess, III, p. 362; Jackson, *Selected Works,* p. 132.

32 The curious slander against Conrad Grebel and Felix Mantz that they withdrew from Zwingli's leadership because, so it was alleged, Zwingli would not consent to their appointment as teachers in the theological school at Zurich has already been mentioned. This school was opened about a half year after the Brethren, under Grebel's leadership, had organized their first church. From Bullinger's pertinent statements it is clear that Zwingli favored their appointment provided, as a matter of fact, that their attitude toward the state church was satisfactory.

Zwingli's own repeated statements. A number of passages in Zwingli's writings show that, after he had decided upon the establishment of a promiscuous state church, Grebel and his friends made persistent efforts to dissuade him from taking such a course. They earnestly entreated him to lead out in a movement for a reformation such as was in accord with his former program—a movement for establishing a church independent of the state and recognizing the authority of Scripture alone in matters of faith and practice.

We have Zwingli's definite testimony that Grebel and his friends, so far from seeking the honor of leadership, for a long period put forth efforts to persuade Zwingli to become the leader in a thoroughly evangelical movement. Zwingli, in his *Book on Baptism,* wrote on this point: "Those who among us have started the controversy in regard to baptism, have previously [namely before the abolition of the mass by the Council] often asked us to organize a new church [instead of waiting for the Council's permission to abolish Romanism]."[33] In his last book against the Brethren, entitled *Elenchus,* he says: "You have asserted oftener than I can say that all will be well if I join you."[34] In at least four other instances Zwingli repeated and confirmed the statement that they urged him to lead out in a movement for establishing a church of the New Testament type,[35] and this testimony is corroborated by Bullinger.[36] Zwingli also stated that he was promised definite financial support (undoubtedly by the dissenters) if he would resign his office as a priest.[37] Professor Walther Koehler says regarding Grebel and his friends, "Their pointed criticism of Zwingli's work and personal attitude was not by any means due to illwill, much less to taking pleasure in strife and contention but rather to a deep religious earnestness."[38] They held that the church should consist of believers, that is to say, of those who personally accepted Christ and whose lives show "fruits meet for repentance."

The principal point of controversy between Zwingli and Grebel was the question of baptism. Grebel and his friends conceived

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[33] *Zwinglis Werke,* IV, p. 206.

[34] Jackson, *Selected Works,* p. 176.

[35] *Zwinglis Werke,* IV, pp. 169, 171, 591; Jackson, *Selected Works,* 132.

[36] *Widertöufferen Ursprung,* p. 9 a.

[37] *Zwinglis Werke,* IV, p. 405.

[38] *Ibid.,* p. 161.

infant baptism to be unscriptural. The plain fact is that they in this regard upheld Zwingli's earlier views. Previous to the year 1524 Zwingli had entertained unfavorable views in regard to the baptism of infants. He wrote in the month of May, 1525, that "some years ago" (*vor etwas Jahren*) he had been "of the opinion that it would be far better not to baptize infants."[39] Conrad Grebel stated that his own attitude as regards the rejection of infant baptism was due to Zwingli's influence in an earlier period.[40] Dr. Balthasar Hubmaier made a similar statement regarding Zwingli's earlier influence over him.[41] Zwingli's earlier convictions against infant baptism were the result of the study of Scripture. He changed his mind on this point for reasons of expediency as will be further indicated. Even later he admitted that the Scriptures do not demand the baptism of infants; he held that the best interests of the church required it.[42]

That Zwingli in his earlier period as a reformer took an unfavorable attitude toward infant baptism was widely known. Balthasar Hubmaier, commenting on Zwingli's printed statement that he had formerly believed, it were far better to abolish the practice of infant baptism, says: "Yes, this was your opinion; you have set it forth in writing and have preached it from the pulpit; many hundreds of people have heard it out of your own mouth."[43] Conrad Grebel wrote in December, 1524, to the Council of Zurich: "I am sure that Zwingli is of the same opinion concerning baptism as we, and I do not understand for what reason he does not admit it."[44] "I do not know what to make of it," said Hans Hottinger concerning Zwingli; "today he preaches one thing and tomorrow he says the opposite. And particularly has he preached years ago that infants should not be baptized, and now he says they should be baptized."[45] A Zwinglian chronicler of Zurich also stated that Zwingli preached against infant baptism.[46]

When Zwingli consented to the establishment of a state church in which membership was to be obligatory for the whole popula-

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39 *Zwinglis Werke,* IV, p. 228.

40 Egli, *Actensammlung,* No. 497.

41 *Vadianische Briefsammlung,* III, p. 128.

42 *Zwinglis Werke,* III, p. 411; IV, p. 303; p. 328.

43 *Ein gesprech Balthasar Huebmoers von Fridberg, Doctors, auf Mayster Ulrich Zwinglens Tauffbuch,* Nicolspurg 1526, fol. D3a.

44 Staub, M., *Die Beziehungen des Taeufers Conrad Grebel zu seinem Schwager Vadian,* Zurich, 1895, p. 75.

45 Egli, *Actensammlung,* No. 655.

46 Staub, *Beziehungen,* p. 39.

tion, he realized that from this point of view the practice of infant baptism was essential. Within a short period he became the most zealous defender of the baptism of the infants. He held that all persons born within the boundaries of the state must be made church members in their infancy. Zwingli undertook a reformation of the existing Roman Catholic Church. Ordination of the Roman Church was to be recognized (though it was ordination to the priesthood). This church was to be changed and "made over" into a new state church. As already indicated, this transition did not imply a change in the constituency, or membership in the church. The whole membership of the Roman Church, that is to say, the whole population of the state, was taken over into the new church without having a voice in the matter.

The claim of the Roman Catholic population of being Christians was based on their being "christened" (made Christians) through baptism in their earliest infancy without their knowledge or consent. The Brethren realized this to be a deceptive claim. They believed the Christians to be those who personally accepted Christ and followed Him in newness of life. They believed that baptism and admission into the Church should follow conversion. The rejection of infant baptism meant that the Brethren would not stop at a reformation of the Roman Church; they proposed a renewal of the Church after the apostolic pattern.

In the earlier period, when Grebel and Zwingli were yet in full accord, some of the more zealous reform friends began, with Zwingli's approval, to hold meetings for Bible study. The leaders in these meetings were called readers, since they read and expounded the Scriptures. The readers labored in various parts of Switzerland. The chronicler Herman Miles, of St. Gall, speaks of many who traveled through the land as readers, drawing large audiences. This was, he says, the origin of the Anabaptist movement.[47] Another chronicler, Fridolin Sicher, also speaks of the numerous readers and the throngs of their listeners, and adds that such meetings were soon forbidden.[48] In Zurich, Andrew Castelberger, Felix Manz and Conrad Grebel were the most prominent "readers." Meetings were well attended and were spoken of by the people as "schools". They were held at Zurich in the residence of Felix Manz' mother and at various other places. By an order of the Council, dated January 21, 1525, these

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[47] *Vadianische Briefsammlung,* IV, p. 306 f.

[48] Goetzinger, *Fridolin Sichers Chronik,* p. 189.

"schools" were forbidden. At a much earlier date it had been discovered by the Council that among some of those who favored these "schools" the baptism of the infants was omitted, especially at Wytikon near Zurich. The Council gave strict orders demanding the baptism of all infants within a short time after their birth. Later it was decreed that infants must be brought to church for baptism.

At St. Gall the regular attendants of these Bible meetings called each other brothers and were commonly known as the Brethren. Obviously this was the origin of the name "Swiss Brethren."

The efforts put forth by the civil authorities to check the movement for establishing an evangelical church, free from state control, failed. Zwingli preached against the Brethren, denouncing particularly their attitude on the question of infant baptism. The Brethren demanded Scriptural reasons and petitioned the Council to ask Zwingli to overcome them with Scripture. Thereupon the Council ordered Zwingli to meet his opponents weekly on Tuesdays for discussion.[49] The first of these debates took place on January 10, 1525. At its conclusion both parties claimed the victory. Then the Council decided to have a public debate on infant baptism. In consequence a mandate was published ordering that "all who held the error that infants should not be baptized" should appear before the Council in the city hall on Tuesday, January 17, in the morning, to give reasons "from divine Scripture" for their opinion. This debate took place as planned. Grebel, Manz and Reublin ably defended the baptism of believers against Zwingli. Heinrich Bullinger, later Zwingli's successor at Zurich, was present and was evidently impressed with the arguments of the Brethren.

Bullinger, in his *History of the Reformation,* gives the following statement of the defense of believers' baptism by Grebel, Manz and Blaurock on this occasion:

> Infants cannot believe nor can they understand the meaning of baptism. Baptism should be administered to believers to whom the Gospel has been preached, who have understood it and of their own accord desire baptism and who are willing to mortify the old man and lead a new life. Of all this the infants know nothing whatever, therefore baptism is not intended for them. Here they cited the Scriptures

[49] *Zwinglis Werke,* IV, p. 207; Jackson, *Selected Works,* p. 134. About the middle of December, 1524, the Council had arranged for a debate between Zwingli and his assistants on the one hand and the Brethren on the other, in the presence of four Councillors. However, only one of the Brethren was permitted to take part in this debate. *Vadianische Briefsammlung,* III, p. 96.

on baptism from the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles and showed that the apostles did not baptize infants, but only those who had come to an age of understanding; therefore the same should now be done. And infant baptism, being not administered in accord with Scripture, was invalid and it was necessary to be baptized anew.

Bullinger says further that Zwingli's arguments for infant baptism were the same as he afterwards set forth in his *Book on Baptism.* In the preface to this book in the new edition of Zwingli's Works it is said that he does not show strong conviction on the point in question; therefore this book failed to evoke conviction in others.[50] It is significant that neither Bullinger nor the Council, in their references to this debate, asserted that Zwingli successfully refuted the arguments against infant baptism. In a letter dated February 8, 1525, the Council of Zurich informed the authorities of Schaffhausen of the debate held on January 17. They stated further that Zwingli had shown that infant baptism was *nichts unrechtes* (nothing evil).[51]

We have stated above that the Council ordered that for some time discussions should be held between Zwingli and the Brethren every Tuesday. However, a few days after the public debate the Council decreed in a mandate that no further debate would be permitted, and if the dissenting party had any question in matters of faith, they should go to the Burgomaster or to the executive committee of the Council (instead of to Zwingli).[52] Zwingli says expressly that he and all other pastors (of the state church) who had attended the public debate of January 17 believed "that it would be not only inadvisable but also dangerous to have further debates with them."[53]

On the day following the public debate the Council issued a decree ordering that all who failed to have their infants baptized within eight days after birth would be exiled. Three days later another mandate was published ordering Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz to accept the decision of the Council on infant baptism and refrain from holding meetings. A number of men who were not natives of the canton Zurich, among them Andrew Castelberger, were banished. About a week later it was further decreed that baptism must not be administered in the homes of the people but "the new-born babes must be taken to the church and baptized by

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[50] *Zwinglis Werke,* IV, p. 202; cf. III, p. 364.
[51] Bächtold, *Schaffhauser Wiedertaeufer,* p. 82.
[52] Egli, *Actensammlung,* No. 624; Fuessli, *Beiträge,* IV, p. 252.
[53] *Zwinglis Werke,* IV, p. 207.

the priest."[54] The Council having been informed that a number of pastors (of the national church) in the canton had preached against the mandate demanding infant baptism, the officers of the law were given strict orders to have a watchful eye over such and arrest in the Wellenberg prison any who would offend in this way.

It is worth noticing in this connection that the decree of the Council just mentioned demanded that all infants must be baptized *by the priests*. The pastors of the state church were the priests. About three months later the mass was abolished and the ministers ceased to be priests, while various other Roman abuses were permitted to continue. Prayer to Mary, for example was abolished in the state church a number of years later.[55] The Brethren were severely reviled for rejecting this practice. In 1528 Conrad Schmidt, a collaborator of Zwingli and prominent minister in the state church of Zurich, preached a sermon against the Anabaptists in which he says: "To advance their Caiaphas-like knavery they preach first of all that one should not say the 'Hail Mary' [the well-known prayer to Mary]. Fie upon the devilish impertinent Anabaptists that they are not ashamed to refuse due honor to the virgin Mary."[56] Heinrich Bullinger at a much later date severely criticized the Brethren because they believed it quite possible that Mary and Joseph had children after Jesus' birth.[57] Luther agreed with Bullinger in this respect.[58] Until Easter of the year 1525 the state church of Zurich was the Roman Church.

We have indicated above that the Council decreed that all infants must be baptized and that the omission of infant baptism was to be punished by imprisonment. Zwingli was clearly of the opinion that a definite action of this kind on the part of the Council was all that was necessary for the suppression of the movement led by Conrad Grebel and his friends. Those who were yet at heart Roman Catholic showed unmistakable signs of a willingness to obey the religious orders of the Council, and Zwingli expected Conrad Grebel and his associates to take a similar attitude. He evidently believed that they would submit to the mandate of the Council rather than to suffer persecution. At an earlier date, however, Zwingli had written: "The more cruel the persecution,

54 Egli, *Actensammlung*, No. 632.

55 Moerikofer, J. C., *Ulrich Zwingli*, II, p. 54.

56 Schmidt, C., *Verwerffen der Artickln und stucken so die Widertöuffer uff dem gespraech zu Bernn fuergewendt haben, etc.* Zurich, 1528.

57 *Widertoufferen Ursprung*, p. 102 a.

58 Koestlin, J., *Luthers Theologie*, II, p. 136.

the more courageously must Christ's soldiers maintain their position. For I want to tell you frankly, I believe that as the church came into existence by blood [of martyrs], it can be renewed only by blood, not otherwise."

After the Council had decreed to punish the omission of infant baptism and suppress the movement headed by Conrad Grebel, Zwingli intimated in a letter to Vadian, dated January 19, 1525, that the conflict with the dissenters was over, and in the preface to his *Book on Baptism* he made a statement to the same effect.[59] In this expectation Zwingli was wholly disappointed. He soon was made to realize that the conflict with the dissenters had but fairly begun. A few months later he declared in a letter to Vadian (dated May 28, 1525) that nothing was accomplished by the measure of persecution taken against the religious party led by Grebel, and that their courage and power remained unshaken. In a later period Zwingli stated repeatedly that his struggle with Romanism was like child's play as compared with his conflict with "Anabaptism", and a similar statement was made by Leo Judae, his principal assistant in Zurich.

The Brethren declared, so Bullinger states, that the use of force and persecution did not solve the pending questions; it did not by any means prove that Zwingli's new program was scriptural. They were fully convinced that the new course taken and defended by Zwingli was indefensible from the Scriptural viewpoint. They had shown prudence and consideration by patiently waiting, so long as such a course could be consistently followed. Eventually they fully realized that the church to be established by the Council would not be a New Testament church but a state church to take the place of the Roman Catholic state church. The decision of the Council to suppress the dissenting movement convinced them that it would be vain to hope further for toleration by the civil authorities. They felt that their organization as a church could not be further deferred, and declared that "we must obey God rather than men."

A few days after the disputation of January 17 the Brethren organized themselves as a church. "Within three or four days [after the debate]", says Zwingli in his last book against them, "it was announced that they had baptized fifteen persons."[60] Caspar

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[59] *Zwinglis Werke, VIII,* p. 296; IV, p. 208.

[60] *Zwinglis Werke,* older edition, III, p. 363; *Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli,* p. 134. Burrage (*Anabaptists of Switzerland*, p. 101) obviously misread this statement and supposed that Zwingli spoke of three or four days after the October debate of 1523.

Braitmichel, a contemporary chronicler of the early Hutterian Brethren, describes the inception of the Swiss Brethren (Mennonite) Church as follows:

> Conrad Grebel, Felix Manz and others came together and found that there was among themselves agreement in faith. They realized in the sincere fear of God that it was firstly necessary to obtain from the divine Word and the preaching of the same a true faith which worketh by love, and then to receive the true Christian baptism upon the confessed faith, as the answer of a good conscience toward God (I Pet. 3:21), being resolved henceforth to serve God in all godliness of a holy Christian life and to be steadfast in affliction [persecution] to the end.
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> And it further came to pass, as they were assembled together, that great anxiety came upon them and they were moved in their hearts. Then they unitedly bowed their knees before God Almighty in heaven and called upon Him, the searcher of all hearts, and implored Him to grant them grace to do His Divine will, and that He would bestow upon them His mercy.
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> For flesh and blood and human forwardness did by no means lead them to take such a step; for they knew what would fall to their lot to suffer and endure on account of it.
>
> After they had risen from their prayer George Blaurock arose and earnestly asked Conrad Grebel to baptize him with the true Christian baptism upon his faith and knowledge [in contrast to the baptism of the unknowing infants]. And entreating him thus he knelt down, and Conrad baptized him, since there was at that time no ordained minister to administer this ordinance. After this was done, the others likewise asked George to baptize them. He fulfilled their desire in sincere fear of God, and thus they gave themselves unitedly to the name of the Lord. Then some of them were chosen for the ministry of the Gospel, and they began to teach and to keep the faith. Thus began the separation from the world and from its evil works.[61]

The event thus described took place as noted above, three or four days after the debate of January 17, 1525. The fact will bear repetition that the Reformed (Zwinglian) state church did not yet exist at this time. In all the churches the mass was yet observed. Communion services were held only according to the Roman Catholic rite, the cup being withheld from the so-called laity. Zwingli disapproved the introduction of an evangelical communion service and the establishment of a non-Roman Catholic church without the permission of the civil authorities. The establishment of such a church by Grebel and Manz, contrary to the orders of the civil authorities and, in fact, in the face of threat-

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61 *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder,* pp. 34 f.

ening persecution by the Council, could not fail to make a profound impression on the people in general, especially on persons of a deeply religious nature who were aware of the compromising position of the recognized religious leaders. In the light of these considerations it is not surprising that, as Vadian states, "those who were of a pious, straightforward disposition" were the most susceptible for the teachings of the party led by Grebel and Manz.[62]

In American Mennonite circles the view is widely held that "the Mennonites descended from the Anabaptists." However, the Swiss Brethren, the earliest or oldest group of Mennonites, were the first, or oldest of the so-called Anabaptist sects. As will be indicated elsewhere there were no "Anabaptists" before them. All other Anabaptist sects and parties were of later origin.

There existed in those times certain older evangelical denominations, such as the Waldenses in Italy and France, and the Bohemian Brethren in the Austrian provinces of Moravia and Bohemia, which had various distinctive points of doctrine and practice in common with the Swiss Brethren. Sebastian Frank, a notable historian of the Reformation period, says that the Waldenses do not baptize infants and that there is in general a far-going agreement between them and the Anabaptists. However, there were noticeable differences between the Waldenses of the various countries. It is probable that the rise of the Swiss Brethren Church is partly to be ascribed to Waldensian influences. This view is held by a few prominent historians among whom the late Professor Troeltsch, of the University of Berlin, deserves mention. Besides the similarity in doctrine, the fact is noteworthy that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and later the Waldenses were numerous in the very parts of Switzerland in which the Swiss Brethren maintained their existence from the earliest times in spite of all persecution.

In the year 1277 a number of dissenters, obviously Waldenses, were burned at the stake as heretics in the city of Bern in Switzerland. A congregation of Waldenses numbering about one hundred and thirty members was discovered in 1399 in the same place. About a century before the rise of the Swiss Brethren movement (1430) there existed in the neighboring canton of Freiburg a large Waldensian congregation. Among those who were perse-

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[62] Vadian, *Deutsche Historische Schriften,* II, p. 408. In the debate of Zofingen (1532) the state church theologians addressed the Brethren: "Whenever we have one who is pious, you draw him away from our church and are content that [do not object to] the evil-minded remaining with us" (*Acta Zofingen,* p. 19a).

cuted for the Waldensian faith there were men and women having the same family names as are also found among the oldest Mennonite families, such as Stuckey, Treyer, Reiff, Bucher, Meyer, Nukomer, Huser, Rolet.[63] From such facts it may be reasonably assumed that Waldensian traditions and influences were partly responsible for the rise of the Swiss Brethren Church.

An American historian has in a recent book defended the curious theory that the Swiss Brethren movement was originally not a religious movement at all but is to be traced to social and economic roots.[64] It is superfluous to refute such an obviously false supposition but a few statements to the point by impartial historians may not be out of place. The late Professor Hans von Schubert of Heidelberg says of the earliest leaders of the Swiss Brethren Church: "Their motives were altogether religious."[65] Professor Wilhelm Hadorn, of Berlin, says the movement was "of a purely religious nature."[66] Professor Johannes Kuehn, of Leipzig, states that "with the [evangelical] Anabaptists everything was based on a central idea. This central idea was *concretely religious*. It was Jesus' command [not only to believe in Him but] to follow Him in a holy life of fellowship."[67]

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63 Ochsenbein, *Der Inquisitionsprozesz wider die Waldenser,* p. 107.

64 Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism,* pp. 34-51. This author says: "From violent revolution the path of development led through stubborn nonresistance." (p. 39). Now this obviously can not be said of the Swiss Brethren who were the first or oldest of the so-called Anabaptist sects. They existed as a church nearly a decade before the rise of the revolutionary Muensterite sect which differed from them radically in faith and practice. The Swiss Brethren always defended and conscientiously practiced the principle of nonresistance.

65 *Revolution und Reformation,* p. 53.

66 *Die Reformation in der deutschen Schweiz,* p. 103.

67 *Toleranz und Offenbarung,* p. 224. Professor Emil Egli wrote: "The Socialist of to-day has more in common with his Protestant neighbor than with the old Anabaptist (referring to the Swiss Brethren." (*Die St. Galler Taeufer,* p. 39.)

JOHN FRETZ FUNK, 1835-1930: AN APPRECIATION

II

Aaron C. Kolb

(*Concluded*)

Service as a Minister

On the last Sunday in May, 1865, exactly two years after the memorable visit from Nissley and Brenneman in Chicago, Funk was ordained to preach the Gospel, Bishop John M. Brenneman officiating. This took place in the Mennonite Church near Gardner, Grundy County, Illinois. He was to be the English minister, though his home was in Chicago, many miles away, while at the same service Henry Shelly, of that congregation, was ordained to be the German minister. Funk's first sermon was based on I Cor. 3:11, "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." Fifty-seven years later, he preached from the same text in the Elkhart, Indiana, church. To him it was a significant day, for he might have quite appropriately called it the 57th anniversary of his ordination. On that occasion he said: "Through many trials and even persecutions and dangers the Lord has led me, but always kept me safely under the shadow of His wings."

Although ordained to serve as a preacher in the English language, it became necessary in after years that he preach in German also. His first German sermon was preached in the Church near Freeport, Illinois, now the congregation in charge of Bishop J. S. Shoemaker for many years. Funk visited at that Church, and was requested to preach in German, but he tried to excuse himself, saying he couldn't, but one of the ministering brethren urged it upon him, saying, "Du bisht deutsch; du kannsht aw deutsch breddige." (You are German; you can preach in German too). And so he made the effort and found it not as difficult as he had feared.

When Funk arrived in Elkhart, there was no organized congregation there, and it was not until 1870 that a step in that direction was taken. He purchased a lot "out in the country", but close to town, where now stands the Prairie Street Mennonite Church. At that time it was the prevailing opinion that cities and towns

were not proper places for Mennonite Churches. A subscription amounting to $600.00 was taken, and building operations were begun in the summer of 1871, when a small church building, 32 x 36 feet was erected. The first service was held on Sunday, Nov. 26, 1871, and another one on the following Sunday. After that, services were held every two weeks for a considerable time, when it was thought better to have services every Sunday, both morning and evening. For some years English and German services were alternated. Later, German services were held once a month, and finally the services were all in English. A Sunday School was organized when the church was built.

Besides John F. Funk and his wife Salome, there were eight (8) charter members. Of these, Mrs. Henry A. Mumaw, who is now in her 80th year, and present at this service, is the only survivor. The original building served its purpose until 1895, when it was raised, a basement put underneath the whole building, a new entrance built, and a furnace installed. In 1901 an addition of 20 feet was built on the east end, as more room was needed to accommodate the ever-increasing Sunday School, numbering around 300, the Primary Department alone having some 100 children. Of this church Funk wrote in his old age: "During all these years our Church has maintained its reputation as a Christian Church, holding firm the doctrines and teachings of the Bible and our forefathers, and is recognized as one of the faithful witnesses of Christianity, instrumental through Divine grace as a means of leading many souls into the way of eternal life. May it remain a faithful witness for God, and a promoter of Christian life, and help the coming of the Kingdom of God, and the fulfilling of the Father's will on earth even as it is done in heaven."

This building served its purpose well until the morning of Sunday, Feb. 15, 1931, when it was so seriously damaged by fire that the erection of a new building was begun, which is now partially completed. It has been felt that the memory of Funk should be perpetuated, reminding future generations of his connection with the work in Elkhart, so the cornerstone of the new church bears the inscription "Founded by John F. Funk, 1871". The influence of Funk's ministry in Elkhart will continue for many years to come.

On June 6, 1892, he was ordained to the office of bishop, at the Holdeman Church, by the resident bishop, Henry Shaum. At this service a feeling of love and earnestness such as is seldom witnessed, was manifest. In the years following Funk

was given the oversight of several congregations: Elkhart city, Olive, Yellow Creek, Holdeman, Salem, Nappanee, and at the more distant points, the church in DeKalb County and also Clay County, Indiana, as well as the Michigan churches at Elmdale, Brutus, and Caledonia, and also the Home Mission in Chicago. From this it will be seen that a great deal of work was laid upon him, but he was never known to flinch from duty, and he set his heart and energies to his enlarged tasks. An old familiar maxim applied very aptly to him, "If you want some important work to be done, give it to a man who is busy, for those who are not busy, often have no time to do it."

Busy years followed. In addition to the responsibility of caring for the Elkhart congregation, and his publication work, he now had to absent himself a great deal from home services in order to keep in touch with the other congregations. Besides, it is doubtful if any minister of the Gospel in or anywhere near Elkhart, was requested to officiate at funeral services as often as was Funk. These calls were not confined by any means to Mennonite families. It was nothing unusual for those of other denominations to invite him either to take charge of or participate in such services, and I have personal recollections of times when he served in this way practically every day in the week.

Because the Publishing House of the Church was located in Elkhart, and this was the home of Funk, who subsequently became the sponsor and promoter of various forms of activity within the Church, which have since grown extensively, the congregation there came to be looked upon by many as a sort of "mother Church", for here originated activities which have affected the entire Church. Under Funk's ministry an active Sunday School sprang up, from which in later years workers opened mission stations in various parts of the city and surrounding country, out of which ultimately sprang permanent congregations, such as the Bethel Evangelical Church, and the United Brethren Church in northeast Elkhart. As the work of the Publishing House grew, it also became a sort of centre of activities of the Mennonite Church, for, being so centrally located, there was hardly a day but that some one from a distance, traveling from East to West, or vice versa, paid visits to some one connected with the Publishing House or on direct church, book, or printing business. Back of all these activities was plainly to be discerned the guiding hand and powerful influence of John F. Funk. Of other institutions organized or sponsored by him mention will be made later on. With all the prominence as-

cribed to him, he was always a man of humble manner. He felt a heavy responsibility to God, and endeavored to discharge that responsibility fearlessly and faithfully.

As the work of the Publishing House grew, more employees were required. Those who were to fill positions of responsibility were drawn mainly from Mennonite families, or were Mennonites themselves. Thus in June of 1879, John S. Coffman was brought from Virginia, to assist in editing the *Herald of Truth.* Likewise, in 1886 Abram B. Kolb, from Ontario, was secured for a similar purpose. In 1889 Aaron C. Kolb, also from Ontario, was added to the office staff, followed a year later by George L. Bender, from Maryland. Others, such as Menno S. Steiner, from Ohio, DeWitt Good from Virginia, John Horsch from Germany, Daniel H. Bender from Maryland, were employed for various periods.

As might be expected, Funk's life was not one of perpetual sunshine, and he passed through severe trials in his later life. Indeed the last two decades of his career were clouded by an experience which must be considered as nothing less than a tragedy of the first magnitude. This experience and all that went with it are now matters of history, and time to some extent has healed the wounds and effaced the scars, but a tragedy it will always remain. It would not be fitting nor profitable to enter into the painful details of the experience, to say nothing of the fact that many who were involved in it are still living. A bare statement of the facts must be sufficient.

Difficulties arose in the congregation at Elkhart, of which Funk had been the pastor from its beginning in 1870, and its bishop since 1892. These were spread throughout the congregations under his charge, and in course of time developed into serious differences, culminating in the withdrawal of a part of the congregation. Happily this was not of long duration, for ground for reconciliation was found, and the congregation was reunited. The entire problem, however, came before the Indiana-Michigan Mennonite Conference for consideration at the conference held on October 10, 1901 at the Holdeman Church near Wakarusa. At that time it was decided that a committee composed of five men, chosen by both sides of the controversy, should make an investigation and report at an adjourned meeting. The committee as chosen consisted of Bishop Isaac Eby of the Lancaster Conference, Bishop L. J. Heatwole of the Virginia Conference, Bishop Ira J. Buchwalter of the Ohio Conference, Bishop George R. Brunk of the Kansas-Missouri Conference, and Deacon Henry D. Heller of the Lancaster Conference. This committee presented its report at an adjourned session of the

conference held on January 31, 1902, at the Elkhart Church. The committee's report, which was unanimous, decided that Funk should remain inactive for one year as bishop, after which a vote should be taken of the membership in the congregations formerly under his charge on the question of his restoration to active service as a bishop. The committee report expressly stated that their action was not to be interpreted as taking from him his office as bishop, but as merely suspending his activity. The required two-thirds vote for his reinstatement as active bishop was not received. Consequently, although Funk was never silenced, he remained an inactive bishop until his death. His office and activity as a minister was not touched by the above decision, and he continued an active minister in the Elkhart Church throughout his life.

There has been some criticism of the decision of the committee as given above. After all, what was intended to be a complete adjustment of the difficulties referred to, appears to have fallen short of this goal, for it was subsequently discovered that Funk had not been properly understood. Thus there were sincere after-regrets not only among those who had supported him, but also among some of those who had differed with him. One active minister is credited with the statement made in after years, "If ever the Mennonite Church suffered a grave mistake, it was when Funk was required to submit to the decision made in his case," while another minister, a prominent leader in the affairs of the Church wrote me, "Brother Funk possessed a marvelous capacity for forgiveness."

To those who know and appreciate the significance of Funk's entire previous career in the service of the Mennonite Church, the tragic close of that career has a poignancy that stirs the soul. The true greatness of the man is revealed however in the fact that in spite of the heavy blow which the decision of the committee must have meant to him, he remained devoted and loyal to the church of his choice, and to the faith which he had espoused and which he cherished. He neither left the church nor lent encouragement to any move which might easily have resulted in another faction, of which there were already too many. He continued to serve the best interests of the church till the end.

The Fire and Bank Failure

It is said that "troubles seldom come singly". This seems to be quite applicable to Funk. Not alone did he pass through deep waters of difficulties in connection with Church work, but when the Indiana National Bank failed, on November 18, 1903, a failure

which affected the whole city seriously, it also affected Funk and the Publishing Company. The bank failure meant a personal loss to Funk of around $40,000.00. But there was still another calamity to meet, for on March 26, 1906, a fire broke out in the Publishing House. Only the close proximity to the central fire station, and the quick, effective work of the fire department, saved the whole building from utter ruin. Through the courtesy of other printing plants in the city, the mechanical work on the various publications was continued, so that not one issue of the papers was missed. All this combination of events, including other difficulties which sprang up, presaged the advisability of making a sweeping change, resulting in a decision to dispose of the publishing interests of the Company, particularly those connected with the periodicals and church literature, to the younger Publishing House launched some years previously at Scottdale, Penna. The printing equipment and the building were sold to James A. Bell & Co., in 1908, Funk continuing his efforts to dispose of such remaining stocks of books as the House at Scottdale thought in excess of their requirements. This business he carried on until the expiration of the Company's fifty-year charter as already mentioned.

During his years of activity, Funk accumulated a remarkable library of rare books on Mennonite history, and other books of a religious nature, which is of great value to the Mennonite Church. This has found its way in part into the possession of Goshen College, a very logical place for such a collection of literary treasures. Part of this library was taken over by the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, Penna.

Among other activities in which Funk was very prominent, was the important work he did in connection with the immigration of Russian Mennonites to the United States and Canada in 1871 and 1872, and the establishing of colonies in Manitoba, Minnesota, Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas. He spared neither time nor money in assisting these persecuted people to find a new home where they might be enabled to worship God with freedom of conscience and without molestation. Time does not permit dealing with this extensive movement.

Another very important institution which he sponsored was the Mennonite Aid Plan. It is known that for more than 50 years the Mennonites were opposed to insuring their property with regular fire insurance companies. It was found, however, that through the ordinary channels of Church charities it was oftentimes hard to collect sufficient sums to cover losses by storm or fire, and the

poorer brethren who most needed help when misfortunes of this kind fell to their lot, sometimes found very little relief. However, no special action was ever taken to remedy this situation until at the Indiana Conference held at the Olive Church in October, 1882. Funk presented this subject and strongly advocated adoption by Conference of a plan whereby this much needed help might be obtained from within the pale of the Church. This was patterned somewhat after a plan adopted by the Mennonites in Canada as early as 1866. The idea was received with favor and was adopted by Conference, and shortly afterwards at a meeting held expressly for the purpose, an organization was formed, called the Mennonite Aid Plan. Officers were elected and a resolution passed that as soon as $400,000.00 worth of property was represented, losses should be paid. This institution grew rapidly in favor, and now represents property to the amount of over nine million ($9,000,000.00) dollars. The original intention was that only members of the Mennonite Church, in good standing, should be eligible to membership in the Aid Plan. This applied to the Mennonite Church in general. Control of the Aid Plan has since passed into the hands of General Conference Mennonites.

There is, in fact, hardly any department of Church activity in progress to-day, with which Funk was not connected in some way in the early beginnings. It would be interesting to follow up the development from its very birth, of the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, but time will not permit. Suffice it to say that this had its beginning at the Indiana Conference in the fall of 1882, when Funk asked for the privilege of establishing and maintaining a fund from which might be paid the expenses of ministers and bishops travelling to visit isolated members and congregations who were without resident ministers, and especially such where the traveling minister or the congregation visited, were unable to bear the expense of the journey. The request was granted, and what was known for some time to follow as "The Evangelizing Fund", was established, the administration of which was placed into the hands of John F. Funk, Martin D. Wenger, and Henry Brenneman. When an organization was formed in the following year, Funk was elected president. During the first year the amount collected for this fund was $26.36. As we look back now, we may well say that "large oaks from little acorns grow". The work was carried on under the name of Mennonite Evangelizing Fund until 1892, when a more complete organization was effected under the name of "Mennonite Evangel-

izing Board of America." Fred W. Brunk was chosen president; Abram B. Kolb, secretary, and Joseph Summers, treasurer. In October of that same year, Bro. Summers passed to his reward, and George L. Bender was elected treasurer, continuing in that capacity until his death, since which time Vernon E. Reiff has filled that position.

Following closely upon the reorganization, mission interests took firm root, and in 1893 the Home Mission was opened on 18th Street, in Chicago, in charge of Menno S. Steiner, assisted by Dr. Solomon Ebersole, after consultation with and approval of Funk. A little later on a change was made in workers, Steiner being succeeded by S. F. Coffman, who was ordained at the Mission by Funk, on April 21st, 1895, and who remained in charge for some time. Thus did active mission work gain a foothold through the initial step taken by Funk in organizing an "Evangelizing Fund" just ten years previously.

That Funk was very deeply interested in evangelizing work from the earliest period of his ministry, is shown by the fact that he with Daniel Brenneman conducted a series of meetings in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, which, so far as is known, was the first of the kind to be held anywhere in the Mennonite Church. Of this Bishop J. N. Durr writes: "I was but a boy when I first became acquainted with Bro. Funk. He and Daniel Brenneman came to Masontown in 1872 and began the first series of meetings in the Mennonite Church at that place. It was the first series of continued meetings held in our Church anywhere, so far as I know. The meetings were a success. There were about 50 accessions to the Church. At the close of the meetings there was also an ordination of two ministers, Bro. Chr. Deffenbaugh and myself. At the request of the aged Bishop Nicholas Johnson, Bro. Funk conducted the ordination services, which were very impressive."

Bishop L. J. Heatwole, of Virginia, also writes that Funk conducted the first "evening meetings" in any Mennonite Church in Virginia. "Every buggy, carriage and buckboard for miles around, was pressed into service to convey the people to attend services conducted by lamplight, for they were anxious to hear Bro. Funk, whose name had become a household word."

That Funk possessed a fine spirit and warm interest in evangelistic work may be illustrated by relating a discussion I heard personally, before there was a well-organized mission board. In September, 1890, Funk received an urgent appeal to hold a series of meetings in Missouri. He showed the letter to J. S. Coffman,

urging him to go. Coffman said, "No, Bro. Funk, you are the man they want. It will be a disappointment if you don't go." Funk replied, "But I am not an evangelist; that is more in your line." There was some discussion, each wanting the other to go, when Coffman finally said, "But, Bro. Funk, I can't afford the expense of going to Missouri." To this Funk replied, "Well, if that is your only drawback, I think we can fix it. If you will go and do the preaching, I'll take care of the expense." That closed the discussion. Coffman went, and one of the results of those meetings was that a young law student became interested in the services, and during the series took a stand for Christ. That young man was Daniel Kauffman, the present editor of the *Gospel Herald.* I well remember this because on his return, Coffman made special mention of this particular young man who had previously been quite absorbed in the study of law. The faith of Funk was rewarded, since the Missouri brethren paid Coffman's expenses.

I should like to relate another incident showing Funk's deep interest in mission work, but time will not permit. Suffice it to say this was the occasion when the first foreign missionaries were sent out by the Mennonite Church, when J. A. Ressler and Dr. W. B. Page and wife were set apart by the Holy Spirit and the Church, for this important work in India, which has since grown to such large proportions. This service was held in Elkhart, Indiana, Funk's home congregation, on November 4, 1898, with himself presiding. The church was filled, and the meeting continued until well past midnight. It was a meeting of wonderful inspiration. Fifteen bishops were present.

Mention might also be made of the work of the Home & Foreign Relief Commission during the terrible famine in India. This was also an Elkhart organization, and many thousands of dollars found their way across the ocean to bring the necessities of life to the sorely stricken inhabitants of that vast empire.

Funk's interest, and the great assistance he gave, in the Sunday School work, dare not be overlooked, though it can be but briefly referred to. He relates how he attended the Ohio State Conference in 1867, at which time there was still strong opposition to this movement. Naturally he could not keep silent on a subject so near to his heart, for he had gained wide experience during his stay in Chicago, and it was only after very considerable discussion that the work was finally sanctioned. Of this he writes, "You may well imagine our great pleasure and gratitude to our Kind Heavenly Father when the good news came from the lips of the presid-

ing Bishop, 'You will be permitted to have a Sunday School'." He says further that to the best of his knowledge, that was the first favorable decision made at any Mennonite Conference in regard to Sunday School work.

The conviction spread that Sunday Schools should be organized, and Funk, with characteristic foresight, pressed its importance. In 1880 on invitation he went to Lancaster County, Penna., where with the collaboration of Amos Herr and Jacob N. Brubacher, there was compiled in one week's time a set of two books of questions, from the Old and New Testaments, which were calculated to form a basis for a system of Sunday School instruction. These found a wide distribution. Some years later Funk realized the necessity of issuing some kind of Helps for the study of the Sunday School lessons so that the Mennonite people might be able to procure explanations of the International lessons, which were then already in vogue, from a Mennonite source instead of from other denominations, and so prevailed upon John S. Coffman in 1890 to undertake the editing of such Helps. Thus we have the beginning of our line of Sunday School Quarterlies. I personally recall the sense of pleasure we all felt at having our own S. S. Lesson Helps.

It is too long a story to relate particulars regarding the beginnings of other periodicals such as *Welcome Tidings, Angenehme Stunden, Words of Cheer, Christliche Jugendfreund, Mennonitische Rundschau,* and *Young People's Paper.* For all of these the whole Church owes a debt of gratitude that God raised up such a man at a time when, without such aids, the promulgation of the Church's doctrines and interests would have been extremely difficult, and many of the young people now active in the Church would have been lost to her. Through these agencies new life blood was infused into the whole body. The Church took on new responsibilities, for through the ministry of these publications, other activities were also brought into being. Special mention might be made of the wide distribution of tracts which were supplied free.

With the establishing of a properly equipped plant for printing and binding, it was but natural that the publication of various books should be undertaken. It may be said without fear of successful contradiction that the primary object of the publication of outstanding books in Mennonite literature was not that of making money, but rather the promulgation of the faith left us by our forefathers so that succeeding generations might be thoroughly estab-

lished in the doctrines for which many gave their life blood in centuries past.

At the outset of this address I made brief mention of that very remarkable book called *Martyrs' Mirror.* Considering the times when this book was brought out in the English language, this was indeed a task of great magnitude, requiring more faith and courage than probably many of us possess to-day.

Another book of very great value, which Funk published in 1871, is the *Complete Works of Menno Simons,* after whom the Church is named. While many of his teachings are now available in condensed form, yet it is a source of much inspiration to read his own thoughts and interpretations and experiences, for they seem to vitalize us as we contemplate how God made Himself known to this hero of the Cross.

One of the most practical books employed by Mennonite ministers for many years, known as *Confession of Faith and Ministers' Manual,* must also be included among the many publications for which Funk is responsible. While he did not compile it all himself, but with the coöperation of others, principally J. S. Coffman, yet I can well remember when this book was first brought out. Funk had felt for some time that a very practical way to maintain uniformity of teaching and practice in Church government, would be to adopt a uniform method of questions and answers which would express in concise form the tenets of our Church, and also provide a uniform method of administering the various ordinances.

I shall not attempt to name all the books and booklets for the publication of which Funk was either wholly or partly responsible, or of which he was the author. However, I should like to enumerate just a few which have enjoyed a very considerable circulation: *Mennonite Church and Her Accusers; Question Books for the Sunday School; Philharmonia; Restitution; Hymns and Tunes; Lieder und Melodien; Allgemeine Liedersammlung; Gesangbuch* (used by the Russian brethren); *Church and Sunday School Hymnal; The Family Almanac* and others.

As a Minister

While John F. Funk is rightly entitled to a high place in our esteem as a publisher of Mennonite literature, he likewise found a very warm place in the hearts of great numbers, as a minister of the Gospel, and a tireless, aggressive Church leader. His name became a household word. In the prime of his life he commanded the respect and love of ministers and laity alike, as few men have done.

That there were those who at times may not have agreed with him in all things, no one will deny. In Conference, he was a forceful personage. It would be absurd to assume that he was always right in his views, but he had the courage of conviction, and his opinions were usually so well balanced that his rulings were often accepted as authority. He certainly was no slacker. He was no extremist. He seemed to possess a gift of remarkable foresight in respect to the best interests of the Church, and was able to present such convincing argument that, except for this peculiar trait, it is doubtful if some of the activities of the Church now so flourishing, would have been secured to her without the necessity of the Church first passing through clouds of difficulties which his skill as an organizer could so successfully circumvent. When he had a firm conviction, he was ready to "first give himself" if by so doing the welfare of the Church might be promoted, and it may be safely said to his credit, that there were times of peril through which the Church passed which could easily have been much more harmful had it not been for his cool, calculated methods of procedure. Funk rendered a great service in successfully promoting projects and ideas proposed by others which would probably never have met with favor in the church but for his tactful support. He rendered perhaps a more useful service in this way than as an initiator of new projects of his own, particularly in his later years.

As early as 1862 he interested himself in an effort to promote cordial relationships with the Amish branch, making special mention of their conference held in the large barn of Samuel D. Miller, in Lagrange County, Indiana, continuing from Sunday, May 19, until the following Wednesday afternoon, where 57 bishops, ministers and deacons were present.

When delicate situations arose at Conference, and harmony and unanimity seemed in danger of being disturbed the steady, cool judgment of Funk proved a valuable factor in preventing more harmful dissensions. It was not always possible to preserve accord, and, to the regret of many, several separate bodies were formed, but, notwithstanding the difference in views on church polity, there remained a warm, personal regard for Funk, which in later years grew into fervent love.

Funk was able to inspire and stimulate younger ministers to aggressive service, at the same time his keen sense of proportion and ready wit enabled him to help more than one overly aggressive personality to keep balanced. An interesting anecdote is told of just such an occasion at a service in the Yellow Creek Church. A

certain minister remarked at the opening of his sermon that he was not well prepared and made other excuses for his poor sermon. Funk remarked to him afterwards: "You should not have made excuses in advance; the congregation would have discovered it soon enough anyway."

That he had imperfections and faults, he was always ready to admit. Nevertheless, his zeal for God's house was so fervent that he would risk the friendship of brethren rather than violate the convictions he felt came from God. He was not always right in his views, but however sure he felt, he would never consent to allow himself to be used as the instigator of what might easily have developed into a faction or separate branch of the Church. His constant aim was to consolidate the forces of the Church and establish all the members in the fundamentals, that the enemy might never be able to break down what the forefathers had so assiduously built up.

It is noteworthy to find that throughout his numerous manuscripts and writings he always recognized the leading of God in all his experiences. His diaries are filled with declarations of thanksgiving, even for occasions of adversity. I do not recall ever having found anything indicating a desire for retaliation, even though he felt keenly that he had been grievously wronged. In discussions or criticisms directed at himself, his defence was markedly sharp, and oftentimes very direct and outspoken, but well calculated, and to oppose him meant the risk of exposing one's-self to thrusts of pungent, invincible logic, and the shrewdness of a clever debater. When he had a conviction, he was fearless, but his fearlessness was always tempered with the inward consciousness that he meant to uphold the interests of the Kingdom of God.

What more shall we say in thankfulness to God and in tribute to this great man of the Mennonite Church whom God raised up at such an opportune time? It would require hours to tell of the multitude of experiences woven into his life which developed this personality for service. This is not said in flattery, but in earnest, sincere truth. We are sometimes told that certain periods in history have called for just certain types of men to fill some particular need. This may be truly said of John F. Funk. Israel needed a Moses, and a Joshua, for there was dire need for strong leadership. England needed an Oliver Cromwell. The United States needed an Abraham Lincoln at a very critical period. And the Mennonite Church needed a John F. Funk, and there are many who will concede that among all the supporters of the faith as upheld by the

Mennonite Church during the past several centuries, there have been few to whom, under God, the Church owes such a debt of gratitude.

I do not wish to eulogize John F. Funk, but the fact remains that a great man of God has gone to his reward. When he closed his eyes in mortal sleep on January 8th, 1930, in the 95th year of his life, God removed from this world one of His stalwart servants whose life and influence has already blessed our Church very greatly, and shall continue to bless her. We honor the name, we treasure the memory of a great and faithful servant of Christ, who, increasing in knowledge and love of Him, has gone on from strength to strength, and has now entered the life of perfect service in His heavenly kingdom.

ATTENDANCE AT MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES IN 1931-32

Silas Hertzler

It has been the aim to include in this annual statistical study of attendance in Mennonite schools and colleges all Mennonite schools of the United States and Canada. The report has never been entirely complete, however, since a few of the smaller academies have not sent in their attendance data.

This year replies were received from the Mennonite schools and colleges named below: Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio; Bethel College, Newton, Kansas; Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana; Eastern Mennonite School, Harrisonburg, Virginia; Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas; Hesston College and Bible School, Hesston, Kansas; Ontario Mennonite Bible School, Kitchener, Ontario; Corn Bible School, Corn, Oklahoma; Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota; German-English Academy, Rosthern, Saskatchewan; Oklahoma Bible Academy, Meno, Oklahoma; Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Gretna, Manitoba; Zoar Academy and Bible School, Inman, Kansas; Hillsboro Bible Academy, Hillsboro, Kansas; Bethesda Preparatory School, Henderson, Nebraska; Mennonite Bible Academy, Beatrice, Nebraska; and The Mountain Lake Preparatory and Bible School, Mountain Lake, Minnesota.

A total of seventeen institutions sent in reports for the school year 1931-1932. One new school was added to the list of previous years. For many years the Ontario Mennonite Bible School has been having a winter school in Kitchener, Ontario. The term of school is but twelve weeks each year, though the work done is of a systematic nature, and the school is on a much more permanent basis than any other of the regional Bible schools conducted in various places throughout the Mennonite church. Several schools included in earlier studies have ceased to exist. The Witmarsum Theological Seminary of Bluffton, Ohio has temporarily discontinued. The academy at Henderson, Nebraska closed for the school year 1931-32, in November, 1931. The future of the school is still somewhat uncertain. It is reported that the Hillsboro Bible Academy has merged with the academy of Tabor College. The Reedley Bible School of Reedley, California did not report this year.

An analysis of the attendance statistics is undertaken in the ten tables which follow. Table I contains a statement of the total attendance, 1928 students, in all the institutions reporting. This total is slightly less than indicated in the reports for each of the two previous school years. In fact there was a decrease in total attendance from the previous year in each institution of college grade in the church. This decrease from the total of last year ranged all the way from thirteen at the Eastern Mennonite School to seventy-nine at Freeman Junior College. A comparison of Table I of the present report with Table I of the report for 1930-31 will indicate the decrease at each school. The decrease in attendance of students of regular college grade was quite marked at Bethel College. The attendance of students not of college grade was markedly less at Freeman, at Hesston and at Goshen.

Tables II and III indicate the enrollment by classes at the different Mennonite institutions. The largest enrollments of college students were at Bluffton, at Bethel and at Goshen, the only senior colleges reporting. The largest classes of college students were at Bluffton. In fact each of the four college classes was larger at Bluffton than at any of the other schools. Both Freshman and Sophomore classes had been larger at Bethel in the report for 1930-31 than at Bluffton. Four colleges granted degrees in 1930-31. For 1931-32 Tabor College voluntarily reduced its offerings to that of the first two years of college. The present report indicates that there are now four regularly organized Mennonite Junior Colleges, with the Mennonite Collegiate Institute at Gretna, Manitoba, giving college freshman work in addition to the courses offered in the academy. The Junior colleges are located in Kansas, in South Dakota, and in Virginia. The total enrollment of college students of 1075 was 162 less than for 1930-31.

Fifteen institutions gave work of academy or high school grade. Six institutions gave the complete four year academy course, leading to a diploma. Several institutions did not report on the classification of their students. The most flourishing Mennonite Academy is the Eastern Mennonite School. There are also more students in each of the four classes here than at any other academy reporting. Even with the addition of the 165 students reported from the Ontario Mennonite Bible School the academy attendance in all the institutions reporting was 93 less than for 1930-31.

The attendance of Mennonite students is tabulated in Table IV. As in previous years the main body of (old) Mennonites has the largest number of students attending, with students in six of the institutions reporting. Without the 150 (old) Mennonites who attended the Ontario Mennonite Bible School the General Conference of Mennonites would be almost as well represented in the student body of this group of institutions. It seems altogether likely too that those reported "Mennonites" without further differentiation were largely members of the General Conference of Mennonites. With this explanation it seems that over eighty-six per cent of the total number of Mennonites belongs in these two larger Mennonite groups. Ten specific groups of Mennonites had students in the schools studied. The small group of "Holdeman" Mennonites is represented this year for the first time. Two groups previously sending students to these schools this year were not represented. They are the Hutterian Mennonites and the Reformed Mennonites. The total of 1337 Mennonite students is 178 less than given in the report for 1931-32.

Members of twenty-two Christian and non-Christian groups other than Mennonites, were represented in the student body of the schools and colleges studied. Table V shows this summary. It is the writer's hope that the denominational affiliation of the students can be more completely reported in succeeding years. For 1931-32 there were 139 students for whom no report was given. These were largely summer school students. There were fifty-one students who were not church members.

Classification of the student body by locality is indicated in Tables VI and VII. The homes of the Mennonite students are given in Table VI. Twenty-six states of the United States; the District of Columbia; four Canadian provinces; and five foreign countries are given as the homes of the 1337 Mennonite students. The foreign countries represented are Argentina, Germany, China, India and Russia. Non-Mennonites came from sixteen states, from three provinces of Canada, as well as from Cuba and from Africa. The one hundred sixteen for whom the needed information was not given was sixty-nine less than the number so indicated in the report for 1930-31.

The summer school students for 1931 are given in Table VIII. Summer sessions were reported, as previously, in six of the schools. The total attendance in summer session was seventeen less than for the summer of 1930. The summer session at Hesston was in reality a six weeks spring term conducted for the rural

school teachers during the weeks immediately preceding the June commencement.

Table IX shows that the total number of women in attendance was one hundred and fifty-three more than the number of men. This is approximately the same proportion as shown in each of the two preceding reports on this point. Bluffton, Rosthern, Meno, and Gretna are the only schools having more men than women in attendance.

Table X shows the number of graduates from all courses offered in these schools. The B. A. is the most popular degree granted, although there are twenty less graduates in this field than in 1930-31. Other degrees granted are bachelor of science, bachelor of science in education, and bachelor of school music. One master of arts degree was granted at Bluffton. Thirty-two junior college diplomas were granted in four schools. The remaining diplomas and certificates were granted on the completion of courses in elementary teacher training, academy, and Bible work.

Table I

Total Enrollment in Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1931-32.

School	Total Enrollment	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.
Bluffton College	360	316			44[1]
Bethel College	281	244			37[5]
Goshen College	265	236	18	11	
Eastern Mennonite School	206	34	110	44	18[2]
Tabor College	158	45	28	5	80[7]
Hesston College	107	20	64	15	8[2]
Ontario Men. Bible School	165[6]			165	
Corn Bible School	75		73		2[3]
Freeman Junior College	74	33	27	10	4[8]
Rosthern	51		51		
Okla. Bible Academy, Meno	48		48		
Gretna	48	16	29		3[9]
Zoar	33		33		
Hillsboro	31		31		
Henderson	10		10[4]		
Beatrice	9			9	
Mt. Lake	7				7[9]
Totals	1928	944	522	259	203

[1] 40 *Music and* 4 *Art Students.*
[2] *Summer School Students.*
[3] *Correspondence Students.*
[4] *The School closed in November,* 1931.
[5] 18 *Music Students and* 19 *specials.*
[6] *This School is in session* 12 *weeks annually.*
[7] 21 *Music Students;* 14 *Art Students;* 45 *Summer School Students.*
[8] *Music Students.*
[9] *Sub-Academy.*

Table II

Enrollment by Classes, College Students, 1931-32

School	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Specials	Summer	Unclassified Students	Total
Bluffton	42	50	66	93	7	40[1]	62[2]	360
Bethel	31	29	55	60	19	69	18[3]	281
Goshen	34	36	27	55	47	37[1]		236
Tabor			14	22	17	42[4]		95
E. M. S.			16	16	2			34
Freeman			13	20				33
Hesston		1	5	9	5	8[5]		28
Gretna				16				16
Totals	107	116	196	291	97	196	80	1083

[1] *Not including duplicates with the regular school year.*
[2] 40 *Music Students;* 4 *Art Students;* 18 *Extension Students.*
[3] *Music Students.*
[4] *Tabor College catalogue,* 1931-32, pp. 61, 62.
[5] *Hesston College catalogue, July,* 1932, p. 24.

Table III

Enrollment by Classes, Academy, Elementary Bible, and Other Students, Not of College Grade, 1931-32

School	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Bible	Summer	Unclass.	Total
E. M. S.	30	22	22	36	44	18		172
Ontario					165			165
Hesston	12	14	18	8	15		12[3]	79
Tabor	6	3	1	8		3[2]	42	63
Corn					73		2[4]	75
Rosthern	16	8	14	12	1			51
Meno							48	48
Freeman	8	4	8	7	10		4[1]	41
Zoar			21	12				33
Zoar				21	12			33
Gretna							32[5]	32
Hillsboro			11	20				31
Goshen	7	3	1		11	4	3	29
Henderson							10[6]	10
Beatrice				9				9
Mt. Lake				7				7
Totals	79	54	96	119	319	25	153	845

[1] *Music Students.*
[2] *Tabor College catalogue,* 1931-32, p. 62.
[3] 10 *Extension Students,* 2 *special Students.*
[4] *Correspondence Students.*
[5] 29 *Academy;* 3 *Sub-academy.*
[6] *This school was discontinued in November,* 1931.

Table IV

Mennonite Students in Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1931-32

Denomination	E. M. S.	Ontario	Bluffton	Goshen	Bethel	Hesston	Corn	Tabor	Freeman	Meno	Rosthern	Gretna	Zoar	Hillsboro	Henderson	Beatrice	Mt. Lake	Totals
(Old) Mennonites	201	150	10	139	1	90												591
Gen. Conference Mennonites			120	3	109	7		11	54	45	44		1	30		9		433
Mennonites (Unclassified)				1	4	1	75			3		34			10		7	135
Mennonite Brethren					2			54	4		2	9	1					72
Krimmer Mennonite Brethren					3			7	8				31					49
Central Conf. of Mennonites			24	10														34
Amish Mennonites	3	14																17
Defenceless Mennonites			3															3
Defenceless Menn. of N. A.			1															1
Mennonite Brethren in Christ				1														1
"Holdeman" Mennonites														1				1
Totals	204	164	158	154	119	98	75	72	66	48	46	43	33	31	10	9	7	1337

Table V

Non-Mennonite Students in Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1931-32

	Bluffton	Bethel	Goshen	Tabor	Hesston	Freeman	Rosthern	Gretna	E. M. S.	Ontario	Totals
Statistics not given	17	77		45							139
Methodist	60	36	28		4						128
Presbyterian	30	11	15					3			59
Non-church members	8		12	25	1	3			2		51
Reformed	23	1	2			3					29
Brethren	5		22								27
Lutheran	11		6	3			1	1			22
Evangelical	4	6	1	5	4	1				1	22
Christian	5	8	5								18
Baptist	4	8		5							17
Roman Catholic	4	6	6					1			17
United Brethren	10	2	1								13
Congregational	5	3	1								9
Church of Christ	6	1									7
Episcopalian	1	1	3				1				6
Christian Science			5								5
Unclassified			1	3							4
Hebrew	2		1			1					4
Missionary	3										3
Swedenborgian							3				3
Quaker	1		2								3
Nazarene		2									2
Unitarian	1										1
Disciple	1										1
Schwenkfelder	1										1
Totals	202	162	111	86	9	8	5	5	2	1	591

Table VI

States, Provinces, and Countries from which Mennonite Students Come, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1931-32

States	E. M. S.	Ontario	Bluffton	Goshen	Bethel	Hesston	Corn	Tabor	Freeman	Meno	Rosthern	Gretna	Zoar	Hilleboro	Henderson	Beatrice	Mt. Lake	Totals
Kansas	1			1	88	56	2	64		1			31	31				275
Ohio	16	9	95	41	1													162
Ontario	1	138		4								1						144
Oklahoma					12	2	71	4		46								135
Pennsylvania	69		15	10		3												97
Virginia	92			1														93
Indiana	1	3	22	57		1												84
South Dakota			1		1			1	59									62
Saskatchewan											45							45
Manitoba												42						42
Nebraska			1	4	4	5									10	9		33
Illinois			13	11														24
Iowa			6	12		2												20
Michigan	5	10		1														16
Minnesota			1		1			1	3								7	13
Maryland	11			1														12
Missouri	1			1		9												11
Oregon				1	1	9												11
Colorado				2		6												8
Texas							2	1		1			2					6

New York	3	3																6
Alberta		1				3		1			1							6
California			2		2													4
Idaho					2	1												3
Montana						1			2									3
India				3														3
China			1		2													3
Russia					3													3
Argentina				2														2
North Dakota									2									2
Delaware	2																	2
District of Columbia	1																	1
Mississippi				1														1
Germany				1														1
Georgia			1															1
Washington					1													1
Canada					1													1
Unclassified	1																	1
Totals	204	164	158	154	119	98	75	72	66	48	46	43	33	31	10	9	7	1337

Table VII

States, Provinces, and Countries from Which Non-Mennonite Students Come, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1931-32.

States	Bluffton	Bethel	Goshen	Tabor	Hesston	Freeman	Gretna	Rosthern	E. M. S.	Ontario	Totals
Ohio	194		2								196
Kansas		88		39	8						135
Statistics not given		69		45	1	1					116
Indiana			103								103
South Dakota						7					7
Manitoba				1			5				6
Saskatchewan								5			5
Pennsylvania	2		2						1		5
Illinois	3										3
Colorado		2									2
Iowa			1	1							2
Africa			1								1
California		1									1
Michigan			1								1
New York	1										1
Missouri		1									1
Oklahoma		1									1
Ontario										1	1
Texas	1										1
Virginia									1		1
Washington			1								1
Cuba	1										1
	202	162	111	86	9	8	5	5	2	1	591

Table VIII

Summer Session, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1931.

	Men	Women	Totals
Bethel	27	65	92
Bluffton	28	46	74
Goshen	35	36	71
Tabor	16	29	45
E. M. S.	6	12	18
Hesston	2	6	8
	114	194	308

Table IX

Attendance, Men and Women

Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1931-32.

	Men	Women	Totals	
Bluffton	181	179	360	
Bethel	121	160	281	
Goshen	125	140	265	
E. M. S.	86	120	206	
Ontario	74	91	165	
Tabor	61	97	158	
Hesston	47	60	107	
Corn	33	42	75	
Freeman	32	42	74	
Rosthern	30	21	51	
Meno	26	22	48	
Gretna	34	14	48	
Zoar	13	20	33	
Hillsboro	12	19	31	
Henderson (Unclassified)				10[1]
Beatrice	5	4	9	
Mt. Lake	2	5	7	
	882	1036	1928	

[1] *Detailed Statistics not given.*

Table X

Diplomas Given and Degrees Granted

Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1931.

	Bluffton	Bethel	Goshen	E. M. S.	Hesston	Totals	Corn	Freeman	Rosthern	Zoar	Ontario	Totals
B. A.	36	16	30			1						83
B. S.		1										1
B. S. in Education			3									3
M. A.	1											1
B. of Sch. Music	3											3
Junior College				8	12	8		4				32
Academy			8	22	27	11		12	10			90
2-yr. Normal				5				8				13
1-yr. Normal								33				33
Bible				3	3					12	16	34
Acad. 3-yr. Course							24					24
2-yr. Academy										12		12
	40	17	41	38	42	20	24	57	10	24	16	329

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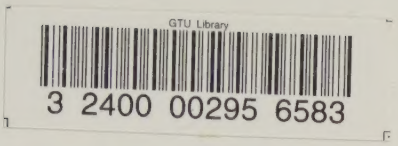

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